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WEEKLY PEOPLE

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BRIEF RAPS AT CAPITALISM

Now Penrose shouts, "Lie." The capitalists are certainly men of probity, integrity, honor, veracity, truth, honesty—Dear reader, pile on the remaining adjectives yourself; we've got writer's cramps.

The profoundest utterance made at the Carnegie "peace" party was made by Archbishop Farley when he said, "It argues well to see so many representatives of labor and capital under the roof of one of our biggest capitalists." It does, indeed. It shows that social discontent, the mother of social progress, is growing so fast that it must be appeased by new devices pretending to obliterate antagonistic interests and class lines.

"The Sun," in typical capitalist style, grows indignant over the reported dispersal of the Duma by the Czar. The interests of the Czar's creditors are jeopardized by the revolution that will follow such an act, and it is for this reason mainly that the latter is condemned. That these creditors should have permitted their cash to be converted into machine guns wherewith to mow down Russian aspirations, does not disturb "The Sun." That the revolution warned against such loans, is also without cause for perturbation. But that the Czar should make the cancellation of those loans possible by revolution, that is a different matter. It is a question that demands the forceful opinion of the humanitarian and liberty-loving "Sun" to rectify it. And "The Sun" accordingly indignant. The decent working class meanwhile rejoice. He who prefers profit to progress can expect no compassion when progress passes him by; and he generally gets none.

"Out of work at 55; kills himself"—this is a common newspaper headline. It sums up the capitalist necessity, replacing old by young men, in order to maintain the present intensification of labor. It means, not so much the uselessness of the old, as the deep inroads capitalism is making on the vitality of the young. It means, not so much the growth of suicide, as the increasing nervous exhaustion and dis-

case where it was formerly absent, viz., in the ranks of the young and the middle-aged. The self-imposed death of one or more men is trivial compared to the physical and nervous destruction of capitalism.

Roosevelt's classification of Debs, Moyer and Haywood with Harriman, should meet with increased resentment. Haywood's declaration that it does him an irreparable injury, in that it prejudices his case, is unfortunately too true. Unfortunately also is it that Haywood's case is the case of the working class; and, consequently, what works injury to him works injury to all its members. Let the resentment grow. Make it strong and emphatic!

It is now asserted that President Roosevelt "has information which he regards as conclusive that Mr. Harriman, those who control the Standard Oil Co. and others connected with the corporate interests are already engaged in a movement to put in the White House as his successor a man of the type described by Mr. Roosevelt as 'reactionary.'" This assertion suggests the following thoughts. Such a powerful array of interests must expect to encounter considerable opposition, or else it would not be organized. What constitutes this opposition? Harriman's statements regarding the Ryan, Root and Roosevelt combination, and the President's well known relations with

J. P. Morgan, make the answer obvious. Next, what does President Roosevelt mean by "reactionary?" His own attempts at trust and railway regulation are undoubtedly his standards of progress. From this it must be inferred that a "reactionary" successor to himself would be a president who believed in the unhampered development of capitalism; one who, possibly, like the Mikado of Japan, would closely ally himself with such development, uniting the forces of government most intimately with it; and otherwise doing his utmost to promote it. Such a man may be a "reactionary" according to the Rooseveltian dictionary; but according to that of advanced capitalism, he is the most progressive man in the country; and therefore the most desirable.

HUNGARIAN FEDERATION'S

ROUSING CONVENTION—DECIDES IN FAVOR OF JOINING S. L. P.

The fourth annual convention of the Hungarian Socialist Labor Federation, was held in Tompkins Square Hall, on Saturday, March 30 to April 1, inclusive. Twenty-two organizations were represented, including branches of the federation, the Socialist Labor Party and two Hungarian I. W. W. locals, represented by fraternal delegates.

The convention, without much preliminaries, got right down to business. After having elected its chairman and other officers, it took up the report of the federation's work, making a number of recommendations such as to publish their recent weekly paper semi-weekly; and other important lines of action.

The report showed a healthy growth in membership in all the branches, as also in finance. The report gives a membership in good standing of 700, in twenty-six branches. The total income at the office amounted to \$4,651.98. The report was received with good spirit and acted upon. After a good debate the report was adopted.

Before adjourning the first session on Saturday evening the delegates decided to attend the ball arranged by the New York Industrial Council of the I. W. W., which was being held the same eve.

The Sunday morning session was taken up with the following: Reports of Editor of the "Nepakarat," auditing and other committees were received and acted upon. A report of the branches followed. The delegates rendered their reports in rotation, giving an account of their efforts toward advancing revolutionary socialism, stating figures of membership gained during the year, and information regarding the circulation of the "Nepakarat"; mass meetings and educational meetings, which were quite successful in most instances. Branch Pittsburgh requested that Daniel De Leon address one of its meetings; they to co-operate and pay the expenses. The reports, without exception, were received with hearty applause.

A good number of striking resolutions were received by the convention from the

different branches. For instance, that any member expelled from the Socialist Labor Party who is also a member of the Federation, shall also stand expelled from the latter organization; a resolution to join the Socialist Labor Party in a body; another calling upon its members and Hungarian speaking workmen to join the Industrial Workers of the World, as the only logical revolutionary industrial organization, and last, but by no means least, another bearing upon the Moyer-Haywood case, condemning the capitalist courts and the hirelings of capitalism. Frank Bohn, National Secretary of the Socialist Labor Party, was given the floor to explain matters in connection with their affiliation with the S. L. P. After answering a number of questions, among which were, as to how a Hungarian Branch could take part in an election where no Section of the Party existed, being part of the S. L. P., how they could comply with the Party's Constitution in the nomination of a ticket, the question of joining the S. L. P., was then taken up for discussion, upon a motion to join the S. L. P. and to call for a referendum vote upon the matter. After a discussion lasting two hours the motion was carried unanimously, followed by great applause and cheers from the delegates and visitors present, after which the chairman announced the decision of the convention.

The two fraternal delegates from the S. L. P., Frank Bohn and S. Moskowitz, then briefly congratulated the body, and welcomed the Hungarian Socialist Labor Federation into the S. L. P. Their remarks were enthusiastically received.

The following business was then transacted: S. Fisher was re-elected national secretary; Samogy was elected temporary editor; and an executive committee of seven was also elected. After disposing of a number of other matters, the convention adjourned, singing the Marseillaise and with cheers for International Socialism, the delegates left for home.

Olga Moskowitz, etc.

THE HARRIMAN DISCLOSURES.

The disclosures attending the publication of the Webster-Harriman letter are the precursors of a long train of disasters to the capitalist class of this country. Like the concussion of a dynamite explosion, in a storage of explosives, the original disclosures have caused other eruptions; and the indications are that more will follow.

The disclosures are significant in that they reveal that, owing to industrial evolution, there is going on within the capitalist class, the same struggle to determine the proper basis of economic and political procedure that Eugene Engley (as reported by Daniel De Leon elsewhere in this issue), observes to be the profound factor in the camp of labor. The capitalist factions are struggling for supremacy in order that they each may impress upon their class the direction of its evolution; just as in the camp of labor, the American Federation of Labor and Socialist Party, and the Industrial Workers of the World and Socialist Labor Party struggle to organize and lead the working class for or against capitalism, or against and for Socialism. The struggle in both fields is

a titanic one; and consequently productive of great upheavals; the interests at stake are far-reaching and colossal; and their clash is bound to reverberate throughout all classes.

Roosevelt, in his endeavors to curb the progressive capitalist plans of Harriman, may be discredited, as a Sherman has been in his endeavors to stamp out the revolutionary development of labor; he may lose the presidency of capitalism as the latter did that of industrially organized labor; but the struggle will go on, growing in intensity and bitterness.

In the meantime, as the working class profits from the struggles of labor, so does society learn from the struggles of capital. Never before has society been able to get so vivid a picture of the actual workings of capitalism within the inner penetralia of American government, as at present. The spectacle is presented of the President consulting on the raising of campaign funds and the making of laws, not with "the sovereign people," but with the dominant personal factor in finance and transportation; he, in turn, rallying to his aid the potent factors within the capitalist class. The unveiling of this spectacle causes the

President to rejoin with a statement revealing the typical attitude of capitalism toward its political candidates and parties, buying the legislative representatives of Hearstism with the same nonchalance that it contributes to the support of Rooseveltism. Such disclosures affect the very conception of government as revered and idealized by a vast majority of the population of this country. Shocking the most indifferent and easy going, they produce a political revulsion that can only be the prelude to an economic revolution, as the cause is in plain view of all.

The next presidential election looms up on the horizon as a portentous one. It will decide which of the large ultra-capitalist factions will win. The writing of that decision will affect society profoundly. But, no matter which wins or loses, the struggle in the camp of labor will continue, with the prospect that labor will soon conquer its own forces, step in and oust the victor in the capitalist class—a class which is daily evincing an increasing inability to control itself. Such a class is doomed; for a class devoid of self-control cannot dominate society.

HAYWOOD SPEAKS

SAYS ROOSEVELT'S STATEMENT IS MOST PREJUDICIAL TO HIM.

Declares Remark, Coming on Eve of His Trial for Life, Will Go Further Than Anything Yet to Prevent Fair Play—Labor Continues to Voice Resentment of Presidential Slander.

Boise, Idaho, April 5.—William D. Haywood, secretary of the Western Federation of Miners, in prison here in connection with the assassination of ex-Governor Steunenberg, commenting upon President Roosevelt's reference to him in the recently published letter to J. S. Sherman, of New York, about the Roosevelt-Harriman episode, has made the following statement from his cell at Ada County Jail:

"Boise, Idaho—I do not desire to make an extended statement with regard to President Roosevelt's reference to me in his letter to Congressman Sherman. The President says that I am an 'undesirable citizen,' the inference being that, as such, I should be put out of the way. His influence is all-powerful and his statement, coming, as it does, on the eve of my trial for life, will work me irreparable injury, and do more to prevent a fair trial than everything that has been said and done against me in the past."

"President Roosevelt is the leading exponent of the doctrine of 'fair play' and 'a square deal,' but his reference to me in his letter to Sherman demonstrates that he does not practice what he preaches."

"William D. Haywood, 'Ada County Jail, Boise, Idaho, 'April 4, 1907."

The following letter was forwarded yesterday to Roosevelt by Thomas Crimmins, chairman of the Eighty-fourth street Moyer-Haywood Protest Conference:

Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States: Sir:—A letter signed by you and addressed to Representative James S. Sherman, dealing with certain points in controversy between you and Mr. E. H. Harriman, has been published with your authority and consent. In this letter you speak of a statement made by your former close political friend and ally in the following terms:

"It shows a cynicism and deep-seated corruption which makes the man uttering such statements, and boasting, no matter how falsely, of his power to perform such crime, at least as undesirable a citizen as Debs, or Moyer or Haywood."

As the Executive Committee of the Moyer-Haywood Conference of New York, a body composed of duly elected delegates, of more than three hundred bona-fide labor organizations, with a membership aggregating more than two hundred thousand men, we consider ourselves in duty bound to take issue with you regarding the language quoted and widely published.

Neither Moyer nor Haywood—we leave Debs out of present consideration for obvious reasons—has any connection with

the quarrel between you and the financial magnate who claims to have raised a large campaign fund in 1904, by means of which 50,000 votes were turned in New York City, assuring your triumphant election. Why, then, should you drag Moyer and Haywood into this mess? You are in a position to know the main facts of their case, to know how they were officially kidnapped in 1906, from their homes in Denver, and taken to Idaho without having a chance to communicate with their families and friends or to appeal to the courts of their own state for legal protection.

You know that they have since been lying in jail and thus far have not been placed on trial for their alleged crime, that they have had no chance to face their accusers or to offer their defense before an unbiased jury.

Nor have they ever before been convicted of any crime, although for many years they have been occupying places of high responsibility in a great body of organized wage-workers, and as such have been for years the objects of relentless persecution by a powerful body of employers. Before the law and before every fair-minded person they are considered innocent until proved guilty in fair proceedings.

Why, then, should you publicly characterize them the way you do? Is the United States an autocracy where the ruler directs the action of his courts? Does your language come within the definition of a "square deal" so fervently urged by you on other occasions? Are you not aware that words like yours coming from the Chief Executive of the nation may poison not only the mind of the general public, but also of a possible jury, against men who are yet awaiting their trial and who are believed by millions of their fellow-citizens to be the innocent victims of a foul conspiracy?

The Moyer-Haywood Protest Conference is not concerned as a body in the issue of veracity between you and the man who has eaten bread with you, advised you on public matters of vast importance, and is now pilloried by you as a falsifier. He may know you well, and probably you know him. That is a matter outside of the sphere of our organization.

But it is of great import to us and our friends to point out that all your knowledge of Moyer and Haywood is of hearsay information, wholly inadmissible in a fair court. With such information as a basis, you pronounce to the world at large your opinion of these two men, thereby prejudicing and prejudging their case, and far outstepping the limits of your executive prerogatives.

We therefore feel bound to enter a most solemn protest against the stand taken by you in this matter.

Is it too much to ask of you in conclusion to make such public amendments as a true gentleman is bound to offer when inadvertently he has made a mistake and inflicted grievous wrongs upon men who have nothing to do with his personal quarrel?

Very respectfully yours,

The Executive Committee of the Moyer-Haywood Protest Conference, Thomas Crimmins, Chairman. April 4, 1907.

The People is a good broom to brush the cobwebs from the minds of the workers. Buy a copy and pass it around.

PERSONAL RECORD

AND PHYSICAL EXAMINATION ROUSES RAILROAD WORKERS.

Inquisitorial Methods and Bertillon System Used—Denounced As a Degradation Worse Than Chattel Slavery—Details By One Who Knows.

San Jose, Cal., March 30.—A few words in explanation to the following: Sacramento is what is termed a corporation or one man town, that is, it is owned by the Southern Pacific Railroad company, State officials, legislature and all. The company has partially aroused the slaves of the S. P. Co., in adopting the personal record and physical examination ordeal to become a slave of this corporation. I will outline my personal experience and that of a few others; also the action taken by the different trade union organizations.

In the first place we tried to get into the shops to ask for work of the foreman of the different departments, but were stopped at all the main entrances by guards and watchmen, who informed us that they could not let us in and that there were no jobs open. I tried two or three days in succession; all efforts to get into the works proving fruitless. I discovered a back way to get in, where I was not hindered by any one; found the assistant general foreman, told him my troubles and made a strong appeal that I was up against it and absolutely must have work. As luck, and probably my persuasive method, softened his heart, he sized me up as a pretty husky looking slave and condescended to ask me to go into his office and wait until he had made his rounds and find something for me to do. He made me wait, sitting in his office, from 7 A. M. to 11:30 A. M. and then he questioned me in a very energetic manner as to my past record. He always tried to convince me that he did not believe one word I said.

After I stood that ordeal to his satisfaction (at least I must have done so as he made out a ticket for me stating in what department I would work, and at what specified occupation in that department), he enclosed the ticket in an envelope addressed to the general foreman. I went to him and he put me through the same category of questions as did the assistant general foreman. He hesitated or seemed only to study it over seriously for another five or ten minutes and then passed my card to his clerk, who filled out another card in regard to my personal appearance, a la Bertillon system; then enclosed two blank personal record copies and addressed them to the chief clerk in another building.

It was noon by this time and I was compelled to wait until 1:30 P. M. to go to the clerk where I made out my personal record, the chief clerk then enclosed the two copies I made out (one a duplicate of the other) and addressed

GLEANINGS 'LONG THE ROAD

En route to Las Vegas, Nev., 11 A. M. March 27.—With the prospect of five restful, peaceful days in Los Angeles where I expect to arrive before this hour to-morrow, I feel as if I could at last begin to catch my breath. Since leaving Denver, twelve days ago, life has been strenuous. It surely was that since moving west and south from Ogden, Utah. What with wash-outs that, in one instance, caused us to have to walk two miles on the slope of a hill skirting the inundated tracks; what with constant delays that tried one's patience; and finally, what with the surcharged electric labor atmosphere in the region of Goldfield, Tonopah, Rhyolite, at the latter of which places, a "labor" deputy sheriff, Casey by name, upon whose crooked corns I had stepped during my address last night, tried to arrest me, this morning in order to prevent my speaking at an improvised miners' meeting in Beatty at 10 A. M. to-day;—what with all that behind and Los Angeles before me, I actually feel at leisure now.

For all the thorniness of the tour since Ogden, it bore in some respects a "home" aspect. At Hazen, Nev., where cars are changed south for Tonopah, my eyes alighted upon a freight-handler with the Weekly People sticking out of his pocket, and upon a miner-looking passenger carrying a bundle wrapped in a Daily People! My first impulse was to accost them both. I refrained. Numerous warnings from W. F. of M., and I. W. W. western friends, that, as one of these put it, "there are folks who would like to see this tour cancelled," decided me to preserve my incognito. As I traveled southward, The People became an increasingly frequent sight. At Tonopah, Goldfield and Rhyolite it was a common thing. At Springdale, a stage station on the road to Rhyolite, a baker who works in the "boarding car" moved briskly and with inquiring eyes among the passengers with a Weekly People in his hand. It was his way to find me out, and introduce himself. The Weekly posted him on my itinerary. He knew I was due there and there. He was an I. W. W. stalwart—one of the "fanatics," as the pin-head of a Sherman has "incidentally" dubbed the bona fide Industrialists. At Beatty, yesterday within an hour's stage ride of Rhyolite, I experienced a friendly "hold-up" by W. F. of M. men at work in the place—due again to The People. They wanted a meeting there. The only plan feasible was soon perfected. At eight this morning a rig was to fetch me from Rhyolite. That was to put me back in Beatty at 9 A. M., and I was to address a meeting until the arrival of the train from Rhyolite to Las Vegas, Los Angeles, 10 A. M. The unwarranted arrest this morning in Rhyolite of my escort from Goldfield, Wm. Jurgens, by the "un-fanatical" deputy-sheriff Casey, and Casey's attempt to complete the job by arresting me also, caused a delay of fifteen minutes in the Beatty program. For the rest, the "fanatical" Beatty program was put through successfully, and I boarded my train where I am now writing.

I had two packed meetings at the big Miners' Union Hall in Goldfield, and one in Tonopah. The Tonopah, Goldfield, Rhyolite situation, with Goldfield as storm center, is simply indescribably magnificent. From as far east as Denver, and all the way west from Cripple Creek, Florence, Grand Junction, Salt Lake, Ogden, Hazen, and then south to Goldfield, Tonopah and Rhyolite discussions upon the I. W. W. and Socialism are not only frequent, but common in the cars. Eugene Engley, the well known radical lawyer of Cripple Creek, Colo., with whom I spent three hours in Cripple Creek on my way to Grand Junction, amazed me with the profundity of an observation that he made. We all know how common the remark is: "Socialists should not fight," or "the workmen are always quarreling." We know these remarks are born of the superficial knowledge of Utopianism. Engley is not afflicted by such superficiality. He is not merely a lawyer. He is a jurist. The vast library he owns is not owned for show; nor has the equally important library of contemporaneous events been sealed to him. He said to me shortly before we parted: "I see it. The real issue during the next ten years will be the struggle of labor within its own camp to settle the question of the proper economic organization

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that is to reflect their political party and furnish the same with the physical power wherewith to enforce the principles proclaimed by their ballot." This is a profound observation. Indeed, the whiners over the "splits" in the camp of labor, the recent I. W. W. "split" included, attest their Utopianism with their tears. Not from victory to victory marches the labor or Socialist movement to final triumph. The march of the labor movement is from disruption to disruption, from defeat to defeat—every defeat being suffered upon the higher plane of more perfect organization, more perfect construction. The struggle to attain the finally perfect, that is, fit organization, marks the process of unification—the industrially organized working class, ready, through their industrial organization, to supplant the political and establish the Industrial or Socialist government of the nation. Labor will win but ONE triumph—that triumph will be the Waterloo of the capitalist class. That triumph will be won without striking a blow at capitalism, so to speak. Capitalism will drop like a scab on the body social. That triumph will be won the instant labor has settled to its own mind the question of the economic organization which its class mission demands.

Not without this truth is fathomed and grasped can the struggle of our days be understood, and the proper attitude be taken towards it. Of that struggle, the present conflict, with Goldfield as the storm center, furnishes an unprecedented illustration.

The present struggle in and around Goldfield is in reality the wrestling of hostile economic organizations, of economic organizations of different degrees of structural perfection. The feature of the season is, that, despite itself, capitalism has enlisted its services in the work of mightily helping clarification. The Goldfield-Tonopah Mine Owners' and Citizens' Alliance press is just now classical. Every issue should be preserved as a valuable specimen in the collection of what may be called the geological stratification of the Social Revolution. It would take me too long to quote its numerous choice utterances; moreover, I am writing on the backs of letters received on the road; the supply would give out before I have rounded the subject; this sleeper furnishes no stationery. An approximate idea may be formed by saying that this Mine Owners' press cries with and out-Herods even the pure and simple political Socialist party press in "Neutrality." The praises of Gompers and of Sherman are sung from basso profundo up to high treble; the A. F. of L. is pictured as the haven of labor's refuge; and, lest the valuable educational work of such propaganda be in the slightest way lost, the bogus I. W. W. of Sherman is editorialized upon in strains of fondness such as Romeo indulged while scaling the window of his charmer's apartments. Nor does that press omit to complete its educational work with fervid oratory against the "Trautman-De Leon faction" of the I. W. W.; against "the pestiferous St. John"; against "the Anarchists who are checking the prosperity of our beloved town," whose "Anarchy" by the way, consists in having armed themselves against the "Diamondfield Jacks" and having thereby kept these nasty vermin, together with their nastier breeders and pay-masters at positively respectful distance, to the saving of the situation, —all of which fervid oratory is forthwith rendered queerly superfluous by heated assurances to the effect that "the I. W. W. is dead" or "the I. W. W. is on its last legs." Such suicidal conduct, such dementia on the part of the Goldfield-Tonopah capitalist press, on the part of the press of a class that is thoroughly known to live through arson and murder upon the plunder of the workers, and through swindle and perjury upon the gudgeons in Wall Street whom it sticks with its usually worthless mining stock—such dementia is the real feature of the season. It is the feature of the season in that it marks that advanced stage of "social stratification" which consists in the circumstance that the capitalist class finds itself driven to come from cover, openly ally itself with one form of labor organization, and thereby itself utter the strongest possible recommendation of the form

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(Continued on page six.)

PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF KARL MARX

BY PAUL LAFARGUE

From the German in "Die Neue Zeit"
Vol. IX, No. 1, by Fred Fellermann.

It was in February, 1865, that I saw Karl Marx for the first time. The International had been founded on September 28, 1864, at the meeting held in St. Martin's Hall. I came from Paris to bring him tidings of the progress the young organization had made there; M. Tolain, at present senator of the bourgeois republic and one of her representatives at the Berlin conference, had given me a letter of recommendation.

I was 24 years of age at that time; all my life I shall not forget the impression which that first visit made upon me. Marx was suffering at that time and was working at the first volume of Capital, which was issued two years later, in 1867; he was afraid of not being able to complete his work; and he received with pleasure young people, saying: "I must bring up men who after me will carry on the communist propaganda."

Karl Marx was one of those rare men who could stand at the same time in the first rank of science and public activity; he united them so closely, that it is impossible to understand him, if one does not look upon him as a scholar as well as a Socialist fighter. Although it was his opinion that every science should be fostered on its own merit and none should care about the eventual consequences of a scientific investigation; yet on the other hand Marx thought that the scholar, if he wished not to degrade himself, never should cease to participate in public life, and should refuse to remain always locked up in his study or laboratory, like a rat in its cheese, without mingling in the life and the social and political struggles of his contemporaries.

"Science should not be an egoistic pleasure; those who are lucky enough to be enabled to devote themselves to scientific pursuits, should also be the first ones to put their knowledge at the service of mankind."—To work for the world was one of his favorite sayings.

Marx had not reached the communistic standpoint through sentimental considerations, although he felt a deep sympathy for the sufferings of the working class, but through the study of history and political economy. He asserted, that every unbiased intellect which is not influenced by private interests and class prejudices, absolutely must reach the same conclusions. But as without a preconceived opinion he had studied the economic and political development of human society, so was he merely writing with the decided purpose of spreading the result of his researches, and with the firm and determined will to give the Socialist movement, which up to that time was lost in utopian clouds, a scientific basis. Publicly he only stepped forward to help along the triumph of the working class, whose historic mission it is to establish communism, as soon as it has succeeded to the political and economic control of society; the same as the bourgeoisie had the mission, when it had attained its power, of bursting the feudal fetters which, stopped the development of agriculture and industry, of establishing the free intercourse of products and men, and the free contract between employer and employee; of centralizing the means of production and exchange in such a way, but without being aware of it, that the material and intellectual elements should become prepared for the communistic society of the future.

Marx did not confine his activity to the country in which he was born. "I am a cosmopolitan," he said, "and wherever I find myself there I am active." Indeed, in all countries, whether he was driven by events and political persecution, in France, Belgium, England, he took a prominent part in the revolutionary movements which were developing there.

But not as the indomitable and incomparable Socialist agitator appeared he at first to me, but as the scholar, in his study on Maitland Park Road, where, from all quarters of the civilized world, the party members gathered, to consult the master of Socialist thought. This study is historical and one must know it, if one intends to penetrate into the intimate side of Marx's intellectual life. It was located on the first floor above the ground, and the wide window, through which the room received a flood of light, faced the park. On both sides of the mantle-piece and opposite the window, the walls were covered with bookshelves, which were filled with books and overladen with newspapers, bundles and manuscripts up to the ceiling. Opposite the mantle-piece and at one side

of the window stood two tables full of papers, books and newspapers; in the center of the room and in the best light was his very simple and small desk, 3 feet long, by 2 feet wide, and a wooden armchair. Between the armchair and the bookcase, opposite the window stood a leather sofa, upon which Marx stretched himself from time to time, in order to rest. Upon the mantle-piece more books were lying, among them cigars, matches, tobacco-boxes, paper-weights, photographs of his daughters, his wife, William Wolf and Frederick Engels. Marx was a heavy smoker: "Capital" will not net me as much as the cigars have cost which I smoked while writing it," he said to me; but he was a still greater squanderer of matches. He so often forgot his pipe or cigar, that, in order to light them again and again, the match-boxes were emptied in an incredibly short time.

Marx allowed nobody to arrange his books and papers or rather, to disarrange them; the apparent disorder was only so in appearance: everything was in its desired place and without search, he always took the book or paper he was just then in need of. Even while engaged in conversation he often stopped to look up in a book a passage or figure which had been mentioned, in order to prove it. He was a unit with his study, whose books and papers obeyed him equally with his own limbs.

In the arrangement of his books there was no standard of external symmetry: quarto and octavo volumes and pamphlets stood close together; he did not arrange the books according to their size, but according to their contents. The books were for him intellectual tools and not articles of luxury. "They are my slaves and shall serve my will," he mistreated them as regarded their size, cover or beauty of paper or print; he turned down the corners, covered the margins with pencil marks and underscored sentences. He did not note anything therein, yet occasionally he could not deny himself a sign of exclamation or an interrogation point, if an author had exceeded the limits. The underscoring system that he used enabled him to find with greatest ease what he was looking for in a book. It was his habit, after intervals of years, to read again and again the notes in his notebooks and the marked passages in his books, in order to impress them upon his memory, which was one of extraordinary acuteness and accuracy. According to Hegel's advice he had from early youth sharpened his memory by learning by heart verses in languages of which he did not know anything.

Heine and Goethe, whom he often cited in conversation, he knew by heart; he always read poets, whom he selected from all the literature of Europe; every year he read Aeschylus in the Greek original; him and Shakespeare he respected as the two greatest dramatic geniuses mankind had produced. Shakespeare, for whom his veneration was unlimited, he had chosen as the object of a profound study; he knew even his insignificant characters. The whole family actually worshipped the great English dramatist; his three daughters knew him by heart. When, after the year 1848 he tried to perfect himself in the use of the English language, which he had previously learned to read, he collected and arranged all the peculiar expressions used by Shakespeare; the same he did with a part of the polemic works of William Cobbett, whom he appreciated among his favorite poets; it was a great pleasure to him for his daughters to recite or sing the satires or love songs of the Scottish poet.

Cuvier, an indomitable worker and grand-master of science, had in the museum of Paris, whose director he was, arranged a number of cabinets for his personal use. Every room was intended for a special class of work and furnished with the necessary books, and apparatus. When he felt tired of one kind of work he went to another cabinet to pursue another study. This simple change in intellectual work meant, as he said, for him a recreation. Marx was just as indomitable a worker as Cuvier, but unlike him, had not the means to equip for himself several cabinets for study. He rested himself while pacing up and down his room; from the door to the window a totally worn out strip was visible in the carpet, which was as sharply marked as a footpath across a meadow. Occasionally he stretched himself on the sofa and read a romance; he read at times two or three at once, which he took up by turns. In his great fondness for romance, he resembled the English scientist, Darwin, Marx particularly favored those of the 18th century and especially Tom Jones by Fielding. The modern

writers who interested him most, were Paul de Kock, Charles Lever, Alexander Dumas, father, and Walter Scott—the latter's "Old Morality" he pronounced a masterpiece. For adventurous and humorous narratives he manifested a decided preference. At the head of all romancers he placed Cervantes and Balzac. Don Quixote was for him the epic of the dying knight, whose virtues became in the incipient bourgeois world mere ridiculousness and tomfoolery. For Balzac his admiration was so great that he intended to write a critique of his great work "La Comedie Humaine," as soon as he had finished his economic work; Balzac was not merely the historian of society of his time, but also the creator of prophetic figures, which under Louis Philippe were still in the embryonic state, but were fully developed after his death, under Napoleon III.

Marx read all European languages and wrote three, German, French and English, to the admiration of those who knew those languages. He reiterated often the saying: "A foreign language is a weapon in the struggle of life."—He possessed a great talent for languages, which was inherited by his daughters. He was already 50 years of age, when he started to learn the Russian language, and although this language did not stand in close etymological relation with any of the old and new languages he knew, he had mastered it within six months, and enjoyed the lectures of the Russian poets and writers, and appreciated especially Puschkin, Gogol and Schischedin. The reason he learned Russian was to be able to read the documents of the official investigations, which, on account of their horrible disclosures, were suppressed by the government; devoted friends had secured them for Marx, who surely is the only political economist of Western Europe that received this information.

Marx had, aside from poets and romances, still another very remarkable means of intellectual rest. This was mathematics, for which he had a special predilection. "Algebra" afforded him even a moral solace. To this he retreated in the painful moments of his active life. During the last sickness of his wife it was impossible for him to pursue in the usual way his scientific studies; the pressure on his mind, caused by the suffering of his companion, he could only escape when he plunged himself into mathematics. During this time of intense suffering he wrote a work about infinitesimals, which, according to the communications of mathematicians who knew it, is considered very significant and will be published as a part of his complete works. In higher mathematics he found the dialectic impulse in its most logical and also in its simplest form; in his opinion a science was only then really developed, when it had proceeded so far as to employ mathematics.

Marx's library, containing more than one thousand volumes which he had carefully collected in a long life of research, was not sufficient for him, and for many years he was a zealous visitor of the British Museum, whose catalogue he valued very highly. Even his opponents have found themselves compelled to acknowledge the extended and profound knowledge, which he not only possessed in his own branch, political economy, but also in history, philosophy and the literature of all countries.

Although he regularly went to bed at a late hour, he was always on his legs again between eight and nine o'clock in the morning, when he took his black coffee and perused his newspapers and then went into his study where he worked till two or three o'clock at night. He only broke off to take his meals, and at evenings, when the weather would permit it, he would take a walk to Hemstead Heath; during the day he took a nap of one or two hours on his sofa. In his youth he had the habit of staying awake all night at his work.—To work had become a passion with Marx; it absorbed him so much that he often forgot his meals. Not seldom he had to be called repeatedly to meals before he came down to the dining room, and scarcely had he swallowed the last bite, when off he went at once to his study. He had a weak stomach, and suffered from dyspepsia, which he tried to counteract by using strongly salted food, ham, smoked fish, caviar and pickles. His stomach had to suffer from the colossal activity of the brain. His whole body he sacrificed to the brain; to think was for him the greatest enjoyment. Often have I heard him repeat the saying of Hegel, the master of philosophy of his youth: "Even the criminal thought of a miscreant is far more grand and lofty than the wonders of heaven."

(To be continued.)

THE LABEL FRAUD

German-American Book Printer Puts Its Head Into a Socialist's Noose.

[From the Cleveland, O., Socialistische Arbeiter Zeitung.]

The following letter and comment appear in the German-American Book Printers' Journal for March:

"We have recently received from Mr. Carl Purlington Rollins, Chief of the Department of Graphic Arts in this summer's Jamestown Exposition, a circular accompanied by a letter, in which we are asked to do all in our power in favor of the exposition. As neither letter nor circular bore the union label, we returned both to the sender, as we do in all such cases, with a card requesting that he recognize and patronize the union label. For answer, we have received from the gentleman the following answer:

Norfolk, Va., Feb. 28, 1907.

German-American Book Printers' Journal, Indianapolis, Indiana.

Dear Comrades:

I have this morning received my letter to you of the 19th inst., returned, with a label gummed on, bearing the legend, "Request this label on all your printing. It means good work, good wages, and good conditions."

As an admirer of the Printers' art, I deny that the union label means good work. It is an absolute fact, which all artists will acknowledge, that the best printing workmanship does not bear the union label. Indeed, it can even be said, that the union label is never found on the best work turned out in this country.

As a good-standing member of the Socialist Party, I desire to say, that even when it does represent good wages and good conditions, the union label is so moribund a mark, and signifies so little of lasting benefit to the working class (and of no other class do I recognize the necessity), that I prefer to use my energies in other directions.

Yours for the Revolution,
Carl Purlington Rollins,
Chief of the Department of Graphic Arts.

"Comment on the above letter is entirely superfluous. Still, it shows that one can be a good standing member of the Socialist Party, and yet not have mastered the A-B-C of the labor question."

With your permission! If comment is superfluous, why do you make so lengthy a one as that included in the last sentence of your conclusion? Why did you not stop at the word "superfluous"? Into your few words of comment, you have concentrated and condensed such a huge mass of sheer out-and-out nonsense, that only an organ of a pure-and-simple trades union could have accomplished the feat. According to you, he who does not swear by the beauties and advantages of the Printers' scab-label, has not "mastered the A-B-C of the labor question," although he may be a member of the Socialist Party! That is certainly a brand-new and highly original discovery; but nevertheless it is not necessary for the German-American Book Printer to secure letters patent to prevent its use. Even the most thick-witted will not go to war over the property-rights in this discovery, and all intelligent "A-B-C" students of the movement, if they have the least sense of humor, will hail this discovery as a famous, and withal, involuntary witticism.

Mr. Rollins of the Socialist Party is evidently a very intelligent man, and we perfectly well understand why the German-American Book Printers' Journal thought it wiser to declare comment on his argument "superfluous." The pure-and-simple union label, standing dislocated for each separate craft organization, is, as much as the separate "contract" of each craft organization with the boss, a huge swindle and betrayal, as far as the interests of the workers are considered. Two sorts of persons certainly do find a great source of contentment in these two hourly institutions: the capitalists and their labor lieutenants or labor fakirs, who find in the separate contracts and separate union labels, a thriving and prosperous trade (for them). One can easily coquette, as a trades unionist, with Socialism and the Socialist Party. It doesn't hurt, it doesn't smudge one's self, and it costs nothing; but it opens the way to a perpetual traffic in working class interests, by way of the fraud of separate contracts and separate labels, such as is indulged in by the Book Printer as well as its trade organization.

The People is a good broom to brush the cobwebs from the minds of the workers. Buy a copy and pass it around.

HOW IS IT WITH THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION?

BY WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING

From the Outlook.

First, the Russian people are united and they know what they want. No people, in fact, was ever more united during a revolutionary period than the Russians are to-day. The scope of the struggle is immense; so large that probably no human mind has yet grasped its full significance, or is likely to do so for many years to come. There is only one issue, and at the same time there are an infinite number of issues. Czarism has suppressed in the Russian people everything that a civilized people holds dear. In struggling together against Czarism the people are struggling for the right of development, not in any one single direction, but in almost every direction that can be named. The professors are struggling for academic freedom; the peasants for land; the workmen for the right to organize; citizens for the right to govern themselves; publicists for the right to speak and write; and the people at large for every human right, for not one is safe at the present time.

As a result, there are as many parties as there are groups of people which emphasize one or another aspect of the struggle. But it by no means follows that these parties are struggling against one another. In fact, there is no possibility of fundamental confusion. The objective of every liberal, radical, and revolutionary organization is to take all the power away from the incompetent, immoral and murderous regime that is at present in control. All oppositional parties are agreed that the Government has never listened to any argument except that of violence, that the past warfare of the people against the Government, whether the best possible or not, has been entirely natural and justifiable, that no one but the Russian people itself should be consulted in the regeneration of Russia, that the Duma or the constituent assembly should have absolute and supreme power, and that a system of universal suffrage should be established by which the common people should control the destiny of the nation.

This is the situation. Unity is its necessary and inevitable consequence. But this unity also exists in fact. Various revolutionary and oppositional organizations sometimes feel bitterly against one another for what they consider to be a misinterpretation of the main purpose of the revolution, or a dangerous error in the method of fight. Nevertheless, they remain generally united, and the practical result is simply that there has been an unconscious and unwilling but nevertheless a perfectly definite division of labor between the parties. The Liberals or Constitutional Democrats have provided the parliamentary organization and the leading parliamentary ideas; the Peasants' Union and the Labor Group have directed the peasantry into politics; the Social Democrats have organized the general strikes; the Social Revolutionists have organized such guerrilla fighting as is already going on, and are most actively occupied with the immediate preparations for insurrection.

The unity is a matter of fact. Perhaps the half-dozen most noted of the moderate liberals in Russia are Gutchkov, Shipov, Heyden, Trubetzkoi, Lwow, and Stachowich. These men are the most moderate of the Russian public men, and within the past year all have taken a very prominent part either in the Duma or in governmental functions. All are opposed both to the Government and to open revolution. None are ready to go as far as the constitutional Democrats, who in many indirect ways have aided and are aiding the active insurrectionists. Yet at the present moment five of the six are willing to cooperate with the revolutionary parties against the Government in the elections. Gutchkov alone remains in the conservative party—that of the 17th of October—and wishes to put down the revolution first. The others, members of the Party of Peaceful Renovation, all see the absolute necessity of putting down the Government first. Alone among men of public reputation, Gutchkov stands in favor of the Government.

The leader and organizer of a group a little more progressive than these, but still rather more moderate than the Constitutional Democrats, is Maxim Kovalevsky, well known as a professor and publicist to the people of England, America, and France. Mr. Kovalevsky is the editor of the second most important liberal paper in Russia, The Strana, of St. Petersburg. In a recent number, speaking of the necessity of cooperation with the Social-Democrats, he said: "There is only one question in Russia to-day. That is, whether

Russia is to be a European or a Asiatic nation; whether the people are going to continue to be slaughtered like cattle or not."

In the coming elections all the liberal and revolutionary parties will act together. There will be many different combinations and a great many different names, but the common action will nevertheless be effective and united on the great charter of Russian freedom.

For the Russian people have already got their Magna Charta, and the outside world does not seem to know. We must recall the remarkable unity of the last Duma. The address to the throne, it will be remembered, was signed by all but an insignificant minority of its members. In the voting on every important question proposed in that address the majorities were overwhelming—sometimes the vote was unanimous, sometimes the majorities were four hundred to one, to three, five, or six. This unity was secured not only by the powerful pressure and intelligence of the Constitutional Democrats who occupied the center, but by the full recognition of the necessity of unity by both of the extremes. After the Duma had dissolved, both the most active and the most peaceful extremes were more than ever impressed with the necessity of making the great fight on the basis of the address to the throne. Whatever agitation and discussion of other revolutionary objects may be in the air, all the wise leaders of every oppositional and revolutionary party are at one in the necessity of concentration for the Russian Magna Charta, the address of the Duma to the throne.

Second, the Russian people are doing everything in human power to wage an organized war against the Government. It could hardly be possible that a nation as united as Russia in its general objects, and even in the methods of their attainment, should fail to appreciate the importance of organizing physical effort.

The revolutionists know that in the bloody crisis which must inevitably come a larger part of the army can be relied on to remain neutral and that a certain portion will even come over to the revolution. They hope, therefore, that it will be perfectly possible to wage with growing success a guerrilla warfare against the Government. In the Baltic Provinces, in the Caucasus, and to a certain extent in Poland, this warfare has already begun, and the Russian people are wholly in sympathy with these rebels of a foreign race. There is no disagreement on the advisability and necessity of bringing the guerrilla war over into Russia as soon as the Government has finally refused to deal with the coming Duma.

This organized warfare is, like the national unity, not only a necessity of the situation, but it is a fact. There is already a high degree of organization in the guerrilla war in the Caucasus, the Baltic Provinces, and Poland, to say nothing of the splendid success of Finland, which won its temporary and partial freedom precisely because the people were drilled and armed. Arms are being landed now in Finland, the Caucasus, and the Baltic Provinces in shiploads of several thousand rifles each. Arms are being imported into Poland from every part of the Austrian border, even to a new species of dismounted machine gun. Already there are hundreds of thousands of automatic revolvers in the people's hands. At the present rate of organization there will soon be as many rifles, and the time will have come for the guerrilla warfare to spread from the outlying provinces into Russia proper. When it does so it will find ready to aid it a peasantry that has already broken out in rebellion in a thousand different places during the last year, and a splendidly organized railway union, ready not only to strike at the proper moment, but to do what is an absolute military necessity of the

situation—that is, effectively to destroy the lines.

But we must remember that this organization is necessarily slow. The Government is executing several hundred revolutionists a month, sending tens of thousands in the Russian jails, month, and every month locking other aens of thousands in the Russian jails. With its system of hundreds of thousands of police, Cossacks and spies, well paid by money the Czar has borrowed from abroad, the Government is able to throw almost inconceivable obstacles in the way of the movement.

Third, Russia is united and waging the most intelligent and practicable form of warfare possible under the circumstances. But what can aroused and sympathetic Americans do? This question also will soon be answered.

There are at the present moment in America, or will be within a few days, prominent representatives of every one of the most important political parties of Russia. For some months the newspapers have been full of the speeches of Levine, the representative of the moderate Jewish party, and of Lieber, the representative of the more revolutionary element. Leading representatives of the Social Revolutionary Party, which has done the most effective work among the peasantry, Tchaikowsky and Gerschunin, have been in the country for several weeks. Aladyin, the leader of the Labor group and one of the most prominent in the Duma, an excellent speaker in English, will soon be here. Within a few days there will arrive a typical and representative Constitutional Democrat, a member of the central committee of the Zemstvos and a member of the Supreme Council of the Empire, who resigned, however, as soon as the Czar refused to deal honorably with the Duma, Mr. N. A. Shishkoff. Mr. Shishkoff also speaks excellent English.

Each of these men has been telling or will tell the American people what they can do for the Russian cause. Mr. Shishkoff, and of course, all the others as well, is most anxious to get financial aid for the pauperized and bleeding Russian people. Mr. Shishkoff has made an appeal for relief which has already appeared in The Outlook. Contributions may be sent to Mr. S. J. Barrows, 135 East Fifteenth Street, N. Y. City.

But all will stand together in favor of the latest movement for the suppression of the Russian people abroad—the national protest that is now prepared against the horrible in which the Czar is waging the war, slaughtering, torturing, robbing and violating the people. This protest will not settle the revolution, but it will have a tremendously useful effect. Mr. Kennan's book on Siberia, for instance, is appreciated by every educated Russian. Its influence, they all agree, cannot easily be expressed in words. Every organized foreign protest against Russian conditions has had its immediate effect inside of Russia. So sensitive is the Government to foreign opinion that, with one or two exceptions, every foreign writer or correspondent going into Russia has been treated with courtesy by the officials in spite of the fact that a large majority have been clearly and fearlessly hostile to the Government. There is no question that the Government is most sensitive to foreign opinion.

Let everybody who is moved by the terrific and tremendous conflict that is going on in Russia express himself freely and openly on all occasions against Czarism. Let every one read the illuminating speeches and statements made by the accredited representatives of the Russian people now in the United States, and attend, if possible, the meetings that are being held in this country. Then let every one join in the coming protest of all the enlightened peoples against the unspeakable atrocities of the Czar!

THE
PREAMBLE OF THE

Industrial Workers of the World

ADDRESS DELIVERED AT UNION TEMPLE, MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., JULY 10, 1905.

BY DANIEL DE LEON.

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THE STORY OF A NEW LABOR UNION

BY JOHN KENNETH TURNER, IN THE PORTLAND, OREGON, SUNDAY JOURNAL.

Portland has just passed through her first strike conducted by the Industrial Workers of the World, a new and strange form of unionism which is taking root in every section of the United States, especially in the west. The suddenness of the strike and the completeness of the tie-up are things quite unprecedented in this part of the country. These conditions did not merely happen—they came as direct results of the peculiar form and philosophy of the movement which brought the strike into being.

"If the street car men had been organized under our motto, together with all other A. F. of L. men, the street car strike would not have lasted ten minutes," says Organizer Fred Heslowood. The boat is not an extravagant one. Wherever the Industrial Workers of the World are organized they can paralyze industry at almost the snap of a finger. It is the way they work.

Use Employers' Plan.

"Well, you've tied us up. I didn't think you could do it, but you did. You're clever; I'll give you credit for that. I didn't think any union could close this mill," one of the mill owners is reported as having said to Organizer Yarrow.

"You yourself have taught us all we know," replied Yarrow. "We organize on the same plan as you do and we've got it."

The peculiar feature about the great I. W. W. strike was that though more than 90 men were out for over three weeks, there was absolutely no violence, no law-breaking and no crying of "scab." Just one man was arrested, for trespassing, and he imagined that he was standing in a public street. Other strange features were the red ribbons, the daily speechmaking and the labor night and day of shifts of organizers who received not a red cent for their services.

Cannot Starve Them.

In the brief two years of their existence the Industrial Workers of the World have become some two hundred thousand strong. They have conducted more than a dozen extensive strikes, all of which they claim to have won without yielding a hair's breadth from their original demands. In places where they have been vigorously opposed the bitter strife has visited a reign of terror upon the community. An old-time unionist may sometimes be starved into submission. The only way to subdue the Industrial Worker is to deport him or put him in jail.

The Industrial Workers of the World and the American Federation of Labor are alike in just one particular: Each is a body of wage workers banded together for the purpose of bettering their material condition—in other words, of raising their standard of living. In all other features they are dissimilar.

As to which form of organization is the better depends upon your point of view. If you are a business man, or if for any reason you consider that the business interests of the community are your interests, you should choose the American Federation of Labor. The Industrial Workers of the World have no respect for business interests. But if you are looking for a form of organization best calculated to paralyze a given industry in the briefest possible time, you should choose the Industrial Workers of the World.

Always Look Upward.

I have said that the two rival labor bodies are alike in but one particular. But even in that particular they are not precisely alike. Many an A. F. of L. union is apparently content merely to maintain the standard of living of its members, while if for a single day the I. W. W. should suspend its activities looking toward raising the standard of living of its members its reason for existence would be gone.

Indeed here lies the most important difference between the A. F. of L. and the I. W. W. Before he demands a raise of pay the A. F. of L. feels that he must justify his action by proving that the cost of living has gone up. The I. W. W., on the other hand, would scorn the suggestion of an apology for his demand. When he serves notice on you that he wants more pay he tells you frankly that he is not asking for half what is justly due him and that he'll be around again soon to get the entire lot—to turn you out and install himself as general manager and coupon clipper as well as continuing in his capacity as workman.

Revolutionary Union.

The fact is, the Industrial Workers of the World is a revolutionary labor union. The Industrial Worker is a revolutionist, and he is proud of it. That is to say, his main purpose is to effect a

complete overthrow of present forms of society and to reconstruct affairs upon an entirely different basis. And his organization is the instrument whereby he proposes to bring about the change.

The American Federation of Labor, it may be said right here, is neither revolutionary in form nor in philosophy. While the preamble to its constitution contains a few words, vaguely suggesting that the ultimate object of the movement is to secure for the worker the full product of his toil, nobody ever sees or hears these sentiments in any other place and the federationist who now and then gets possession of the official manual reads the radical passage wondering, and meditating on his past experiences, lays aside the book with the impression that the revolutionary sentiments suggested are not to be realized until the worker has passed into the world beyond.

All on One Level.

On the other hand, at the end of the Industrial worker's mental vision there always shines bright and clear a beckoning ideal which he calls the Industrial Commonwealth. No man not both blind and deaf could belong to the Industrial Workers of the World for 30 days without being made to understand that the one raison d'être of his organization is to capture absolutely the machinery of industry and of government and to turn out the present masters and make them workers like themselves.

"Live and let live," says the pure and simple trade unionist. "The interests of employers and employees are identical; let us get together and try to arrive at a better understanding. All we want is a fair day's pay for a fair day's work."

Voice one of these sentiments in a meeting of the Industrial Workers of the World and you will be hoisted. No Industrial Worker wants to let any capitalist live as a capitalist. An organizer caught with his feet under the same table with a capitalist would be branded as a traitor. While, if you use the term "a fair day's pay," the industrial worker will ask you how much is a fair day's pay, and will attempt to prove to you that nothing is fair short of complete ownership of the earth and the fullness thereof. The "pure and simple" proceeds upon the assumption that the capitalist system is the ultimate form of society. The Industrial worker is a socialist, neither more nor less.

Socialistic Plans.

Being a socialist, the industrial worker shapes every detail of his organization with a view to attaining his ideal, the industrial commonwealth. He not only plans to whip the capitalist to the point of unconditional surrender, but he plans to use his organization to run the industries after the capitalist is whipped. Manifestly, his first thought is to organize the entire working class.

The American Federation of Labor does not make any specially strenuous efforts to organize the whole body of the workers. If it did its form of organization, would stand in the way. Craft unions came into being when industry was organized on a craft, rather than an industrial, basis. Before the advent of the great industrial plant one employer usually confined his activities to one craft. The workers in one shop were all of one craft and they organized along craft lines, their purpose being merely to make a collective bargain in the sale of their labor power. Whether the workmen in other crafts organized did not make a great deal of difference to them.

High Fence Around Unions.

Most of the American Federation of Labor unions were modeled after the old English trade union and are therefore on a strictly craft basis. The American Federation is merely a collection of unions and the ties that bind one union to another are but fragile threads. Indeed, one of its chief purposes, as avowed by the American Federation of Labor itself, is to preserve the autonomy of the local union.

Though the general policy of the American Federation of Labor, therefore, may be and is mildly in favor of the extension of unionism to new fields and to larger and larger bodies of the working class, the policy of many of the strongest unions is to limit the benefit of unionism to a favored few. Such old stalwarts as the bricklayers, the machinists and others, limit the number of apprentices, impose prohibitive initiation fees, and in many other ways place hedges about their organizations with the view of limiting the number of beneficiaries.

Stronger Unions' Methods.

Such unions as the two mentioned often refuse to join local trades councils and adopt a general policy calculated to discourage the organization of new crafts

or industries. As a single example, a feeble attempt was made in Portland a few weeks ago to organize a Newswriters' union. The plan failed, but the chief promoter stated afterward that it might have succeeded had not the members of the Typographical union refused absolutely to lend any encouragement.

The fact is that under the American Federation of Labor system weak unions band together more or less loosely, but the stronger they become the farther they draw away from their fellows. When involved in a hard struggle they rush back into the common council, where they remain active only as long as they can use their allies.

Will Unionize Anybody.

There is no workman so poor, old or unskilled but what the industrial workers will organize him gladly. It makes no difference if he is white, black or yellow. As long as he works for wages he will be taken in and will receive the same consideration as the strongest and most skilled. The national constitution of the Industrial Workers of the World prohibits a local from raising the initiation fee above \$2. The general policy is to reduce this and to keep the monthly dues as low as possible. In Portland the initiation fee is nothing; the dues are 50 cents a month.

The industrial workers organize by industries instead of by crafts. Instead of putting the printers, the pressmen, the stereotypers and other branches of newspaper labor each into a separate autonomous union, the industrial workers organize all the workers of the entire plant into one union. The girl stenographers therefore have the same protection, from a union standpoint, as the men who sit at the machines in the composing room and perform work that is little, if any, more skillful, but which under the craft system pays five times as much per hour.

Why Industry Method.

The purpose of organizing by industries instead of by crafts is twofold: First, to organize the whole body of the workers; and, second, to present them with united front to the employers.

"One union, one label, one enemy," is a motto of the Industrial Workers of the World. "An injury to one is an injury to all," is another. "Workers of all countries unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains, and a world to gain." This old slogan of the socialists is frequently quoted in the Industrial Workers of the World literature.

The Industrial Workers of the World have two criticisms of the A. F. of L. which they offer upon all possible occasions. One is that the labor movement as expressed by the federation, is divided against itself. The other is that it is misled by "fakers" who, for their own purposes, teach the doctrine of identity of interests between capitalist and workman.

That Terrible Unanimity.

When the pure and simple strike they strike by crafts. When the industrial workers strike they all strike. Therein lies their terrible efficiency. When an industrial plant is very large, when it extends over a considerable section of country, or when it employs men of many tongues, the industrial union is divided into departments. But more than one agreement is never made with the employers. The departments come together to decide what their scale of wages and hours and their other conditions of labor shall be. The whole is drafted into one agreement to expire at one time and if an injustice is done to the meanest employe every worker considers himself injured.

The industrial worker points to the cases where the Typographical union has gone on strike and where the pressmen because their agreement related only to themselves, stayed and worked alongside of strike-breakers. Because such occurrences happen every day under the craft system the industrial worker calls it "a system of organized scabbery."

Harmony Teachings Assailed.

More bitterly still does the revolutionary unionist denounce the doctrine of the identity of interests. A class war, an irrepressible conflict, which can end only when the capitalist is overthrown is what they teach. To them industrial peace under the present system is a misnomer, for the worker is always being exploited. They want peace in Portland to-day, yes.

But peace even on their own terms would be accepted only as a truce, a temporary cessation of hostilities to be taken advantage of chiefly for the purpose of marshalling their forces for another onslaught. Gompers, Mitchell and other leaders of pure and simpledom are harshly assailed for teaching the doctrine of harmony between capital and labor.

The Workers' Philosophy.

A leading socialist writer has defined Socialism as three things—a philosophy, a political movement, and an ideal. It may be said that industrial unionism is

three things—a philosophy, an economic movement, and an ideal. In the two cases the philosophy and the ideal are identically the same. The third feature, the means to attain the ideal, is the only point in which the two movements differ. Read the philosophy of the class struggle, the economic interpretation of history and the theory of surplus value as expounded by Karl Marx, Frederick Engels and all the other Socialists of the scientific school who followed them, and you have the philosophy of the Industrial Workers of the World.

The only difference between the Socialist Party and the Industrial Workers of the World is that the one says "vote, vote, vote," while the other says "strike, strike, strike." Every last one of the organizers and leaders of the I. W. W. are "scientific socialists" and the only reason that they don't say "vote, vote, vote," is that they have come to doubt the efficiency of the ballot as a weapon when their long heralded death struggle of classes finally arrives. They have come to believe that, should the Socialist party ever cast a majority vote at the polls in this country, the masters would defeat their purposes either by fraud or force.

Think Strike Beats Ballot.

Briefly, the Industrial Workers propose to substitute the general strike for the ballot as a weapon for revolution. The fondest dream of the Industrial Worker is for that time when the toilers will be so well organized and so well trained in working class philosophy that they will as one man lay down their tools and go on a general strike; or which amounts to the same thing, when they will lock out the masters and run the industries for themselves.

Economic power, they argue, is a necessary precedent to political power. When they have the economic power completely to paralyze industry, they can demand what they will, government and all. Ballots and bullets will be alike useless against them and their ideal of collective ownership, democratic management and equal opportunity to enjoy the fruits of industrial progress will be fulfilled.

Minerowner's Suggestion.

The theory of industrial unionism is a product rather of changing conditions than the creation of any special mind. But its plan of organization was first mapped out by Ed Boise, formerly president of the Western Federation of Miners, upon resigning this office to become a mine owner several years ago. Boise told the miners that no workers who had not attained the light of class-consciousness could be true to any union. He urged them to reorganize along industrial, class-conscious and revolutionary lines. The Western Federation of Miners issued a call for a convention, and the Industrial Workers of the World was born.

The revolutionary labor body was organized in Chicago, June 27, 1905—less than two years ago. The organizations which became its charter members, so to speak, were the Western Federation of Miners, the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, the American Labor Union and the United Brotherhood of Railroad Engineers. All of the first three named had previously put themselves on record as favoring socialism. The leaders in that first convention were Eugene V. Debs, twice candidate of the Socialist party for president; Daniel DeLeon, recognized leader of the Socialist Labor party; C. H. Moyer, William D. Haywood, Vincent St. John and Albert Ryan, officials of the Western Federation of Miners, and Mother Jones, the best-known woman labor agitator in the United States.

Hope to Supplant A. F. of L.

Local leaders of the new movement say that it was not launched for the purpose of fighting the A. F. of L. This may be true—is true, in a sense—but there is no doubt that every enthusiastic Industrial Worker expects that his organization will in time supplant the A. F. of L. The rank and file of the A. F. of L. is never attacked, but its leaders and its system of organization are almost unmercifully flayed. Because of this the two bodies have clashed in several places. When the Industrial Workers go on strike, the A. F. of L. generally remains neutral, but sometimes furnishes strike breakers; when the pure and simple go on strike, the Industrial Workers are bound by their constitution to support them.

All I. W. W. strikes are carried on primarily for the purpose of organizing the workers for the revolution. Immediate demands are drawn up chiefly with the view of getting the workers in the fighting line. At a mass meeting of the local strikers a few days ago a speaker declared that when the newspapers said the strike was brought about by a few agitators they lied; that it was the 11 long hours of toil and the small wages which had organized the men. True, if the men had been getting \$5 a day instead of \$2, it is likely they would have refused to walk out. But had it not been for the gospel of discontent spread by the Industrial Workers of the World, there would not have been a

strike in the lumber mills this winter—that is certain.

Want Shorter Hours.

The Industrial Workers have usually based their strikes on a demand for an eight-hour day. They want more time in which to educate the workers. In three strikes at Greenwood, British Columbia, they reduced the hours of labor from 12 to 8. They won strikes for the eight-hour day at Goldfield and Tonopah. At the latter place they struck in sympathy with the Western Union-telegraph operators.

In Cripple Creek they won a fight for eight hours. In Skowhegan they went on strike and forced the employers to heat the workrooms of the textile workers. In Schenectady they forced the employers of the electrical workers to take back two draughtsmen whom they had discharged for joining the unions. These are not all the victories of which the Industrial Workers boast.

In the I. W. W. every member is an agitator. The religious zeal with which they propagate their ideas is seldom seen in the ranks of the American Federation of Labor. They are proud to claim the enmity of the bosses. They thrive on persecution. That their leaders—Moyer, Haywood, Debs and others—are thrown into jail is the soundest proof, to their minds, that those leaders are loyal to the working class.

"Revolution" a Sweet Word.

Moreover, it is a mistake to imagine that they deceive their recruits into believing that they are something which they are not. Socialist books are for sale on their shelves and while in their speeches they shy at the word socialism, the name of revolution is sweet to their ears and they shout it from the house-tops. They organize to the last notch; they appoint policemen to their own; they drill their members in tactics daily. This is the reason there has so far been no violence in the sawmill strike.

To predict the final outcome of the Portland strike is not within the province of this article. But even if the great mass of the newly organized strikers go back to work on the same basis as before, the minority will fight. They will attempt to get the men back into line for another strike. If they do not win, they may bring about such a condition of affairs as to-day exists in Goldfield, Nevada, where the business men and the federationists are arrayed on one side and the industrial workers, on the other in a desperate conflict in which blood has already flowed. Within the past week officers of both the A. F. of L. and the I. W. W. have prophesied to me that such will be the outcome.

Breathe in Socialism.

Finally let it be said that the new members do not seem to take fright at the revolutionary philosophy handed out to them in huge raw chunks. Though they may have never heard of it before, they accept it as if it were mother's milk. A single strike of the Industrial Workers of the World, with its glowing enthusiasm, its drills in working class tactics, and its hundreds of speeches, makes more revolutionists than a whole season of agitation by the socialist party.

When the industrial workers strike no man may come near but he smells the powder. I firmly believe there is no human agency which carries half the menace to existing society as does this revolutionary labor union, the Industrial Workers of the World.

TO ALL PEOPLE READERS.

Greeting:—The time is fast approaching when the printing plant and headquarters of the Socialist Labor Party must be moved to new quarters. When we tell you that we have a Hoe press to take down, move and set up, it doesn't convey much information, but when we tell you that it will take a gang of men a week or ten days to move the Hoe press, and the book press, you will get an idea of the job before us. Then there are six linotype machines, three small presses, a stereotyping outfit and all the other paraphernalia of a printing office, besides business office, editorial, and Labor News equipment. In addition to the moving we have to make certain costly alterations in the new place to suit our requirements, all of which means that every cent of the three thousand dollars for which we have called will be needed.

We are sure that most of our friends, could we but approach them personally, would gladly aid us with a contribution to the Moving Fund, but as we cannot call on you personally, we take this means of asking you to lend a hand. Many have already most generously responded to previous appeals for this fund. If you have contributed, and can do no more try and interest someone else and send on what you can collect. We ask you not to ignore this call. We shall expect to hear that you have made a remittance to Treasurer Kihn, of your own contribution and what you may be able to collect. All of the readers of The People are just as vitally interested in this matter as the management here, and we believe they will show that they are by the returns they will make to A. C. Kihn, the treasurer of the Moving Fund, whose address is 2 to 6 New Reade Street, New York.

"The Concentration of Wealth"

By HENRY LAURENS CALL

Read before the American Association for the Advancement of Science at Columbia College, New York, December 27, 1906.

In this noted contribution to economic science, Mr. Call has shown not only the startling degree and growth of wealth concentration in the United States, but also the means by which this wealth concentration has been brought about. He has further demonstrated the justice as well as the necessity of society reclaiming all the instruments of production precisely as are "confiscated" the burglar's loot, the counterfeiter's coin, or the pirate's ship.

Some of the subjects treated are indicated by the following chapter headings:

1. A Half Century of Wealth Concentration.
2. The Growing Poverty of Industrial Society.
3. A Reign of Corruption and Plunder.
4. Industrial Society Sold Into Bondage.
5. The Modern Corporation a Monstrosity.
6. The Corporation Should Be Social, Cooperative.
7. Nature and Justice of the Required Remedy.

In this pamphlet Mr. Call has, in short, laid bare the whole industrial, financial and political situation. In the words of the New York World (applied to a former work of Mr. Call's) it is "a scientific, cold-blooded, mathematical analysis of modern industrial society, in which the tangled web of economic fallacies, inconsistencies and anomalies is shown with the clearness of demonstration of a professor of anatomy."

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New York Labor News Co.,
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The New York Labor News Company has kindly given free storage to the New Jersey Socialist Unity Conference pamphlets, but now that the Labor News must change its quarters the undersigned feel that the institution should not be burdened with these pamphlets and in order to move them out the price is reduced to 3 cents each, in lots of 25 or more copies.

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There are truths which some men de-
spise because they have not examined
them, and which they will not ex-
amine because they despise them.—Con-
tributed.

WHAT THE CAPITALIST WAR MEANS.

The war between Harriman and Roosevelt is of deeper import than appears on the mere face of it. Harriman advocates a system of railroad rebuilding which, in execution, requires the co-operation of the government and the absorption of large interests. These interests are now held by elements hostile to Harriman, who are temporarily in control of the national government, which is being used to hamper and harass the Harriman plan. But it is not likely that these interests can long prevail; the Harriman plan is in line with the railway evolution of the country, and is the only plan commensurate with its industrial development, and the needs of international competition. Sooner or later, the material forces that give rise to this plan, will press forward to its practical execution. As this plan involves the application of concentration on a most stupendous scale; on a scale undreamed of even by Marx; its results on the body social and political will be revolutionary. It will practically mean not only the rebuilding of the railroads, but of the social structure. A Roosevelt stands in the way of such a comprehensive step forward. Unlike the Mikado of Japan, who has allied himself and government to the most advanced capitalist development of his nation, Roosevelt seeks to preserve the status quo, with such governmental modifications as the discontent of the times demands. It stands to reason, that with such forces against him, with such industrial strides as those of Japan for this country to keep pace with in international competition, Roosevelt is pre-eminently out of place. He should be relegated to the rear. Capitalism, as personified by Harriman and his plans, should have free and undisputed governmental sway; for, with the development of Capitalism, according to the man and his measures, will come a great growth for Socialism. Every advance for Capitalism is an advance for Socialism. Let 'er advance! Clear the road!

A MALADROUS CLASSIFICATION.

The capitalist caldron is boiling; the factional witches are actively stirring up its contents, and a social stew of great proportions and peculiarly compounded odors is spluttering and simmering. The Harriman incident has brought the struggle for supremacy in the politics of ultra-capitalism to a state of active fermentation; Roosevelt contributes to the blaze underneath the caldron, a declaration of uncompromising war; and henceforth the lid will be raised quite frequently by the settling mass within. Already do the bursting bubbles emit vapors in which the odors of class hatred and reaction assail the nostrils. Roosevelt's classification of Harriman with Ibsen, Moyer and Haywood, is one of these effervescent malodors. The discreditable appeal of a discredited politician to the vindictive feelings of the capitalist class, this classification affords an insight into the hostile attitude assumed by the occupant of the highest office in the land toward the victims of the Colorado-Idaho outrages; and, as such, has evoked the outspoken resentment of the working class against an executive who is supposedly pledged to an impartial enforcement of the law, "regardless of class privilege and in the interests of the entire people." The sole contribution of this classification to social progress, has been one of increased class bitterness; it serves afresh to reveal the depth of capitalist opposition to labor's efforts at improvement and emancipation from wage slavery; and thereby stirs working class discontent and revolt into vigorous denunciation. This malodor will not be without its good features, if, besides evoking resentment and denunciation, it also directs attention to the caldron from whence it issues. The struggle for political supremacy is primarily an economic struggle. The capitalist faction that controls the nation will have enormous powers

and resources at command, in defeating competition and advancing its own interests. This is equivalent to saying that the control of the state is a means to capitalist expropriation, the very basis of which is the robbery of labor, through the profit and wages system inherent in the private ownership of land and machinery. No matter which capitalist faction wins in this struggle, labor will continue to be abused by discreditable politicians, victimized and exploited. Let the capitalists fight it out; let them stir up the caldron with its questionable zephyrs; while labor prepares industrially and politically to socialize land and machinery; thereby doing away with the brazen pot, witches and all.

Work in this direction is urgent. The next presidential election has already begun. To its throes, as now already manifested, will be added the agonies of what has variously been termed "a panic," "trade contraction," etc.; all of which will conduce to further discredit the knight of indisputable veracity, now occupying the White House. Prepare, then, ye men of toil. Educate, agitate and organize, so that the great army of labor may come out of this social crisis greatly strengthened and advanced.

THE "RAILWAY QUESTION."

Much is said regarding the so-called railway question. To some, the "railway question" presents itself as a matter of rate adjustment. Still others regard it as one of competition. A third group declare it is a question of corporate property rights. While a fourth holds it to be a subject of concentration and governmental control or ownership. The so-called railway question is something more than all these. It marks the beginnings of the struggle between private interest and social necessity that is destined to end in Socialism. The so-called railway question is the social question in its acutest form. It is an intensification of the meat, milk, flour, shop, and other questions that have already arisen, thanks to the trust; and that will grow more acute as the industries involved in them become more concentrated and monopolized, until finally Socialism steps in and solves the problems which they all present in common.

The so-called railway question illustrates once more the profound effects of slow changes in the means of production and distribution, upon property and life. From an experiment hardly comparable in results to the slow stage coach, the railroad has steadily grown more perfect in technique and organization, until now it binds millions together in the labor of its construction and operation, and holds the fortunes of many more millions dependent on the steady performance of its functions, and the manipulations of those who own and control it in their own private interests. From the seemingly impossible dream of a few inventive social machine dominated by the interests of the capitalist class, for whose regulation, or overthrow, there is a growing demand; from a crude enterprise that evoked derision the railroad has become one of the newest manifestations of the social question; and an advanced form of all other economic questions, substantially identical with it in development and character.

Finally, in its solution, the so-called railway question is a labor question. To the millions of railroad men of all degrees of technical and muscular skill must society look to solve this question, as it must look for the solution of all the other phases of the social question. With these men behind it, the arguments of capital, regarding the dependence of society on its needed co-operation in the operation of the railroads, vanish into thin air. With labor of every degree of ability and strength to back it, both constructively and actively, what need society care for the bluster of the bragging crew of capitalists who own this capital? All that society needs to do is to abolish them as it did the slave-holding oligarchy; and place the railroad workers in control, making their administration democratic, in conjunction with that of the other industries. Only in this way can society assert itself, while, at the same time, freeing itself from the bondholding incubus of the capitalist class, invoked in government ownership. Government ownership will keep the bondholding capitalists in the social saddle. Industrial democracy will establish the supremacy of society.

According to all beliefs "the dirt is flying" in the Panama Canal Zone. The financial statements issued however, tell a different tale. They show that \$128,000,000 have been appropriated; \$20,000,000 of which have actually been expended on the actual construction of the canal. The greater portion of the remainder has been expended in purchase and preliminary construction; both involving large fat contracts. Not dirt, but money is the chief object at the canal.

INVITING THE DELUGE.

The Czar, in dispersing the Duma, is inviting the deluge. The second Duma represented moderation as opposed to the revolutionary zeal of its predecessor. It was disposed to regard half a loaf as better than none and now finds even that denied. The result will be an upheaval. Finding even moderation repudiated, the Russians of all classes in opposition to Czarism have but one resource left, and that is to fight for the overthrow of the autocracy. Both sides are prepared for the test. The bureaucracy is preparing to prevent an uprising; on the other side, the peasants and proletariat have been organized, and the army and navy undermined. A general strike and mutiny will follow the dissolution of the second Duma. Such are the economic forces at work in Russia—forces making away from feudalism for capitalism—that it is the belief of the civilized world that the collapse of Czarism will follow the general strike and mutiny of the Russians of all but the most reactionary classes.

Whether that belief is well-founded or not, the present situation in Russia affords ground for reflection, especially in this country. That situation once again demonstrates the futility of moderation; and, in so doing, once again demonstrates the blind obstinacy of the capitalist class; and the enforced adaptation and re-adaptation of revolutionary tactics on the part of the classes seeking to oust it. Obviously, the physical overthrow of Russian autocracy was a foregone conclusion; yet, such is the power of social evolution, that it could not have been demonstrated to the satisfaction of the vast majority of Russians without the complete repudiation of peaceful appeals and the extinction of moderation on the part of the bureaucracy. Progress demands the trial of peaceful measures; reaction compels the sanctioning of more aggressive ones when these prove unavailing. In Russia, both peaceful and aggressive measures—general strikes, mutiny, elections, and terrorism—have had alternate influence, with advantages from both, and with peaceful propaganda in the ascendancy. The final decision is still in abeyance, with every prospect, at the present writing, of being written by violence in a deluge of blood that will drown reactionary Czarism.

To the members of the working class of this country, who advocate physical force, regardless of social development, or rely on purely economic, or purely political organization alone, the situation in Russia is especially important. The situation in Russia warns against the perils of adopting a lop-sided metaphysical program, as opposed to a comprehensive economic and political one based on material facts and subject to material conditions. Should the above mentioned workmen persist in coping with the more highly diversified conditions existing in this country, with less completeness than do the Russians in coping with the more homogenous conditions existing in Russia, the Czar will not be alone in his mistaken fatuity. They too will perish in a crimson deluge of their own invitation.

THE CHICAGO MUNICIPAL ELECTION.

The recent Chicago municipal election, with its tremendous slump in the vote of the Socialist Party, has caused George Koop, the mayorality candidate of the latter, to give his views on the results, as follows:

"During the five weeks of the campaign I visited 75 unions. The leaders, Republicans and Democrats, told me that what I said was true, but that the union men did not have sense enough to get together. The election proves that what they said was only too true."

This reflection upon the good sense of the so-called union men, is typical of Socialist Party candidates. But it is illogical and unsound; the lack of good sense is displayed by themselves. It is well-known that the trades unions addressed by Koop are based on craft interests. This requires each branch of an industry to look after the welfare of the workmen in its union, at the expense of those in the unions of the other branches.

Such unionism does not embrace the interests of the workmen in all branches of industry. It is the unionism of dis-union. Being a unionism of craft interests, being divided industrially, it reflects itself on the political field, where it is divided at the ballot box. The teamsters' union, intent on promoting its craft interests, votes for Busse to rebuke Dunne's conduct during its strike. In other words, knowing only craft interests, it refuses to vote for the class interests presumably upheld by Koop. This attitude is perfectly logical. One might as well expect potatoes to grow where cauliflower is planted, as to expect class-conscious votes to flourish in the soil of craft interests.

What is necessary should now be evident; to secure united working class action at the polls, there

must first be united working class action in industry. The workmen must be organized according to industries on class lines. When they are once so organized, political dis-union will disappear with that of economic dis-union. Koop may then address the unions with better success than his above quoted utterances show was the case in the recent Chicago municipal campaign. The Industrial Workers of the World, in demanding the complete organization of the working class, on both the economic and political fields, is leading the way. Koop should join it, and get into a position where he can talk without being either illogical, unsound, or unsuccessful.

A DESTRUCTIVE PATENT REPORT

The assistant commissioner of patents, Edward B. Moore, is apt to get into trouble if he doesn't exercise more care and prevent himself from colliding with and disfiguring the beautiful theories of capitalism. According to one of these theories the capitalists are the great inventors. To their ability to devise and improve machinery, is wealth production largely due. It follows, consequently, that to them then should the bulk of the wealth belong, and if it doesn't, the incentive to invention will be destroyed. Mr. Moore knocks into this theory, throws it down and jumps on it with the hob-nailed shoes of truth.

Mr. Moore in a recent report, reveals the fact that invention is no longer the result of accident, but of close application, study and experience. It is no longer dependent on the achievements of erratic individuals, but of corps of hired experts. Mr. Moore declares:

"The applications for patents come mainly from professional inventors. The largest number of applications come from the great trusts—the United States Steel Company, the great electrical companies, the Harvester trust, and the Automobile trust. These trusts employ hundreds of inventors to devise improvements of their machinery. They are paid very large salaries in many instances, and the business of the patent office is gradually falling almost completely into their hands."

In the light of these facts, the capitalist theory of invention, with its rewards and incentives, becomes a beautiful myth. According to them, invention is probably not a function of the capitalist; consequently the wealth claimed for him on that ground can only become his by iniquitous means. These facts demonstrate invention to be a co-operative and social act. It requires the combined ability of hundreds of men and the accumulated science of the ages. Being a co-operative and social act, it follows that the wealth accruing for invention is also co-operative and social in character, and should therefore belong to society. Finally, these facts make plain that invention needs not the stolen billions of the capitalist class to bring forth its wonders; the wages of capitalism, most often very precarious, are sufficient for that. Socialism, which aims to take the wealth created by invention, as belonging rightly to society, will give more than the wages of capitalism. It will give the inventors all that can justly be determined to be theirs. No longer need they devise and plan, study and experiment, to pile up billions for capitalists who buy them in the labor markets as they buy other commodities, only to expropriate the fruits of their genius and then discredit them in the eyes of the world. Under Socialism, inventors will labor for themselves in a society which will aim to promote the interests of all and the expropriation of none. Socialism will enrich and dignify all society, the inventors included.

"The Sun" draws a striking picture of the Chinese giant awakening to assert his dignity. Armies are being "assembled, equipped, drilled and instructed." "Warlike, scientific and modern instruction" is now being given to the student body, in contrast to the old "poetic philosophy" and "mere scholasticism." The opium trade—"forced upon China by England through the agency of war"—is being gradually suppressed. Concessions to foreigners are refused and revoked as fast as allowable. China is awakening, and acting accordingly. "The Sun" reads the signs of approaching storm for the would-be dismemberers of China a right; and believes that increased commerce will keep the capitalist class of this country on the safe side. As China's whole attitude is due to the aggressiveness of commerce, "The Sun's" suggestion seems like a dream that will be shattered.

The President, in permitting water to remain in railway securities, has again modified his course to meet the requirements of his opponents. To Teddy the rough rider, the strenuous, the liver of the simple life and the simplifier of spelling, Teddy the funkier ought to be added.

MOVING FUND'S BIG JUMP

BRINGS GRAND TOTAL OVER \$2,400 AMOUNT—LESS THAN \$600 NOW NEEDED.

The Moving Fund took a big spurt forward last week, over \$92 being added; bringing the grand total over the \$2,400 mark. As will be seen the contributions come from all over the country, and even the canal zone is included. Only \$600 are now needed. The building containing the Daily People has been sold to contractors who are to demolish it. Work on alterations in the new building will be speedily undertaken. Rush in the amount still lacking; so that the work may go forward unhampered; and with all the speed possible. Send next week's returns over the \$100 mark!

Amounts Received.

List 6, Globe, Arizona, J. Stromquist, \$1; J. Haven, 50c; J. Kubitts, 50c; J. Walter, 50c; "Friend," \$1; P. C. R., 50c; W. Crocker, \$1; N. Bonni, \$1; D. Haber-Joseph, 50c.	\$ 6.50
List 24, Bridgeport, Conn., J. Custer, \$1; J. Johnson, \$1; E. Pryor, 50c; N. Petersen, \$1; P. Cucuaro, 50c; on lost list, 40c.	4.40
List 47, Indianapolis, Ind., N. Kuerst, \$1; List 49, Indianapolis, Ind., W. Edwards, 50c; W. Retterer, \$1; C. Thomson, 50c.	3.00
List 59, Boston, Mass., G. Nelson, \$1; M. Thoresen, 25c; J. Jakobson, 50c; A. Hornsend, 50c; C. Frieson, 50c; L. Jacobson, 50c; C. Lind, 50c; J. Thuling, 50c; Mrs. G. Nelson, 50c; A. Mattson, 25c.	5.00
List 112, S. Hudson Co. N. J., Branch 1, S. L. P.	2.00
List 134, Brooklyn, N. Y., "Players," \$1; N. Menhaus, \$1; O. Boehmke, \$1; F. Comstock, 50c.	3.50
List 137, New York City, 3rd and 10th A. D.'s, J. Job, \$1; S. Gerdman, \$1; M. Grimes, 25c; B. Friedman, 15c; I. Schafer, 50c; J. Unger, \$1; D. Gerskowitz, 20c; I. Cornhud, 25c; I. Klatfer, 15c; M. Unger, 25c; S. Schwartz, 50c; D. Brown, \$1.	6.25
List 270, New Orleans, La., J. Wallace, 25c; J. O'Neil, 10c; J. Legman, 50c; K. Dickson, 25c; U. Meldrum, 50c; J. Maconnel, 25c; P. Shelley, 25c; C. Hall, 40c.	2.50
List 284, Meriden, Conn., I. Clair, 25c; Hoffman, 50c; J. Bernstein, 15c; U. Baker, 20c; I. Greenberg, 30c; P. Bolotin, 15c; "Adis," 10c.	
J. Adelstein, 15c; P. Zalkind, 25c; Seaman, 95c; G. Rose, \$1.	4.00
List 342, Cumberland, British Columbia, S. Shore, \$1; D. Coe, \$1; T. Dewyer, 50c; J. Smart, 25c; W. Gleason, 25c; J. Johnson, 25c; C. Garney, \$1; F. Bradley, 25c; J. Bruce, 50.	5.00
List 394, Paraiso, C. Z., Panama, H. Cody, \$2.50; Mrs. H. Cody, \$1; "Cash," 50c; L. Prats, \$1; J. Sweeney, \$1; M. Gorman, \$1.	7.00
List 409, Sturgeon Lake, Minn., Bodholdt,	1.00
List 454, Boston, Mass., J. Diedrickson, 50c; T. Maher, 25c; B. Johnson, 50c; F. Furlong, \$1; E. Hynes, 25c; J. Langebart, 25c; F. Colm, \$1; C. Christensen, \$1; J. Domack, 50c; J. Swenson, 25c; List 458, Boston, Mass., E. Mayo, \$1; C. Chabot, \$1; A. Jones, \$1; A. E. Jones, \$1; A. Blum, 50c; O. Blum, 50c.	10.00
Cal., San Francisco, M. Engel Conn., New Haven, C. Werle.	15.00
Mass., South Braintree, E. Rosenberg.50
Mich., Detroit, E. Uhlman.	1.00
Minn., Black Duck, M. Henryson, \$1; Minn., St. Paul, A. Jansen, 50c.	1.50
Ill., E. St. Louis, P. Veal, \$1; W. Veal, \$1.	2.00
Nevada, Rhyolite, S. Bailey.	1.00
N. J., Jersey City, A. Herschman.	5.00
N. Y., Binghamton, D. R. Munro, \$1; N. Y., Brooklyn, A. Weiss, 50c; J. Swartz, \$3; N. Y., N. Y. City, K. L., \$1; W. Jajewski, \$2; C. Smith, \$1; "Henry," 24th St., \$5.	13.50
Oregon, North Bend, F. Punch, \$1; Oregon, Portland, Section Portland, S. L. P., 60c.	1.69
Pa., New Castle, J. Sowash.50
Va., Portsmouth, G. Heans, 25c; S. Ford, 25c; R. Downey, 25c; S. Schmidt, 25c; C. Munro, 25c.	1.25
Washington, Tacoma, Section Tacoma, S. L. P.	2.50
Ontario, Hamilton, S. Marchella, 50c; I. Green, 50c.	1.00
Total.	\$ 92.74
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A. C. Kihn, Sec'y-Treas., Press Security League. Friday, April 5, 1907.	

BRIEF SOCIALIST ESSAYS.

V.

"THE UNION ABOVE ALL."

Jingoism in any sense is to be deprecated. Jingoism lacks true comprehensiveness; it seeks to confine a boundless world. In Germany the Jingo cries: "Germany Above All." In America the same spirit is apparent in "Our manifest destiny as a supreme power." The idea of national overlordship warps the jingo's conception of world relations—until Japan and China appear on the scene. The former cries then give way before the specter of "the Yellow Peril"; and "the Occident against the Orient" becomes the slogan. Jingoism, weak and cowardly in its isolation, turns to internationalism for protection and salvation. Were it not that there are limits even to humor, Jingoism would be laughable, indeed. As it is, disgust greets its performances.

Jingoism is not merely found in morbid nationalism; it also crops out in morbid unionism. Some workmen cry out: "The Union Above All"; "The Union is destined to be the supreme power." The Jingo unionist insists that the union is revolutionary. It has secured the right to organize, reduced hours, increased wages and will emancipate the working class. He overlooks the fact that political action is also revolutionary. It has achieved the right to legislate in working class interests; to pass mechanics' lien, bi-weekly payment, child labor, and other laws. The claim that these laws are unenforceable, that politics are corrupt, and the working class is counted out, is a two-edged sword that cuts both ways; for the right to organize is rendered unenforceable by the State, Gompers, employers' associations, the blacklist, Pinkerton detectives and Farley strike breakers; while hours are reduced to the accompaniment of intensified labor, prices rise higher than

wages; the Sam Parkes of Unionism are as abundant as the Dick Crokers of politics; and the workers are locked out and forced into submission to economic wrongs.

The Jingo unionist lacks true comprehensiveness. He fails to perceive that the union is no more revolutionary, and no less reformatory and corruptible, than the political party. The day will come when the capitalist peril will drive him to accept the protecting and saving principle of true comprehensiveness, represented in united economic and political organization, and opposed to union isolation. This is not merely comparative rhetoric, but also concrete history, as exemplified in Russia, where the two forms of organization are supplementary to each other, the peasant and the working classes using strikes to secure civil and political rights that are used in their own class interests.

Jingoistic unionism is dangerous. This unionism presupposes a spontaneous and ideal organization of the working class without the counteracting influences of the capitalists and the State. The working class must organize its economic might to enforce its political right; and it must be politically right in order to strengthen its economic might. With-out this combination, the working class conducts a one-armed fight; a fight that can neither be offensive nor defensive because of its incompleteness.

James Donnelly.

Co-incidental with the close of Mallock's lecture tour in this country, the announcement is made that an Altoona, Pa., cobbler has invented a compound that will revolutionize the coal industry. Such information, demonstrating once more the lowly source of invention, will again stave in Mallock's contention that wealth is produced by the directive and inventive genius of the capitalist class.

Which does the Kaiser aim to promote most, in sending Prince Oscar to Harvard, international intelligence or international markets?



UNCLE SAM AND

BROTHER JONATHAN

BROTHER JONATHAN (looking as if the skies had closed over his head)—If I understand things right, your party—the Socialist Labor Party—will establish Socialism.

UNCLE SAM—Bet your bottom dollar it will!

B. J.—But that would be very bad! U. S.—Inasmuch as to which?

B. J.—Don't you see? Under Socialism no one would have a chance to set up a little shop, say a little grocery—

U. S.—One of those cockroach stores?

B. J.—Well, call them "cockroach stores." They are cockroach stores, I'll admit. Nevertheless the man who has one of them can on a summer day tip back his chair against his front door, take it easy, and boss things in his own shanty. And that surely is something. Under Socialism there could be no small stores. Big stores only would do the retailing. No one could have his own store. We all would have to be workmen.

U. S.—You understand, don't you, that "workingman" under Socialism is not what "workingman" means to-day, under Capitalism?

B. J.—Yes, I understand that. The workingman under Socialism is a free being—

U. S.—Who enjoys the full fruit of his labor; he is part owner in the Co-operative Commonwealth; he works under conditions that he himself has a voice in deciding—

B. J.—Yes; whereas now he has nothing to say upon that; the shop rules are determined by the employer, and the worker is treated as a galley-slave. I recognize all that. And yet—

U. S.—One moment! And you understand also, don't you, that the small shopkeeper is everything but a free man?

B. J.—I know there are many thorns to that rose.

U. S.—The small shopkeeper has to wear himself to a bone in order to make two ends meet—

B. J.—I know that.

U. S.—He is subject to a thousand and one vexations, inflicted upon him by the politicians—

B. J.—That's so, I know it! Tho' I am not a shopkeeper myself, my shopkeeper friends have told me some very galling experiences.

U. S.—The small shopkeeper travels on the ragged edge of a ruin, carrying on a losing, hopeless competitive struggle against the large department stores—

B. J.—I know all that; and yet—

U. S.—The existence of the small shopkeeper is bound up in petty things, and he is bound to find his mind and his family's mind warped by his pursuit, and become petty—

B. J.—I grant all that.

U. S.—And yet you would like that petty, crawling "independence" that you see in the small shopkeeper?

B. J.—Yes, I do.

U. S.—When our forefathers kicked out King George, the political system that leaves room for petty lackey-lords was overthrown.

B. J. (very proudly)—Totally overthrown!

U. S.—A new political system was set up, where, politically, all were alike?

B. J. (still more proudly)—Yes, indeed! "No more political lords for us, whether big ones or little cockroach lords!" our Revolutionary Fathers would have said to a man with any such aspirations. "Good man, if a Cockroach Lordship is your aspiration, by all means join King George's red-jackets! You can't get Cockroach Lordship in the American Republic."

U. S.—And so say we Socialists to you now: "If what you aspire after is the cockroach independence of a cockroach little shop, then, by all means, don't vote for the Socialist Labor Party; no cockroach business is possible under Socialism; but vote for any of the other parties, it matters not which, if you ever reach your ideal, you will have the opportunity to fawn and crawl, and be subject to the vexations imposed upon you by the capitalists; you will have that opportunity to you heart's content." That's my answer.

The People is a good broom to brush the cobwebs from the minds of the workers. Buy a copy and pass it around.

CORRESPONDENCE

CORRESPONDENTS WHO PREFER TO APPEAR IN PRINT UNDER AN ASSUMED NAME WILL ATTACH SUCH NAME TO THEIR COMMUNICATIONS, BESIDES THEIR OWN SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS. NONE OTHER WILL BE RECOGNIZED.

ONE OF MANY FRIENDS.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—I shall try and send you all the subscriptions to the Weekly People that I can. I consider it the best paper I have ever read in the Socialist movement. It explains all the technicalities, and stands for the salvation of the proletariat, in the solution of the class struggle.

Fraternally yours,

Peter Winters.

Pine Bluff, Ark., March 30.

WORTH TRYING FOR.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—I would say to the members of the Socialist Labor Party and readers of our Party organs, the Daily and Weekly People: Let us get together and push the Party Press with might and main. Nothing will do more good than getting The People into the hands of the men in the shop, mill and mine. It will inspire them with new hope. It will get them out of the rut, into which ages of capitalistic teaching have ground our class, and build up our fighting organization.

Let every branch in Allegheny County have each of its members try his best to get one sub every month. If he can get more, so much the better; but get one anyway. And let us report at each meeting how many the branch has got—and who got them. Let the delegates to the County Committee report to that body. By doing this we could duplicate our numbers twelve times per year. This is worth trying for. Let us up and do the thing, that all would be glad to accomplish. I will get four myself per month and try for more.

Just now look at the good news in the columns of the Weekly People, all about the labor movement everywhere. I tell you the spreading of our party organ will inform those that want to know the I. W. W. and will give us a means to reach men this summer with our agitation that never were touched before. The time is ripe and with some hustling we can have hundreds of readers of our papers in this county before fall. Take up the cry, educate, agitate and organize the workers, that we may educate and drill them for the coming revolution. Begin by doing it with our press.

M.

Pittsburg, Pa., April 4.

THE DRAMA TO PROMOTE SOCIALISM.

Many things that are stranger than fiction.

Occur every day in the year, causing trouble and discord and friction, and jolting finance out of gear.

Now along comes "The Stranger" to tell you

A typical tale of the times;

If you're anxious to hear it we'll sell you

The tickets, so bring on your dimes.

On Tuesday evening, April 16, the Socialist Labor Club will give a performance at the Grand Theatre, Grand and Chrystie streets, for the benefit of "Der Arbeiter," the Jewish official organ of the Socialist Labor Party. Jacob Adler, the well-known Jewish tragedian, supported by his wife and a good cast, will play the title role, in "The Stranger." This is an excellent realistic drama.

All readers of The People should realize the importance of "Der Arbeiter" and should without fail be present on the 16th of April, and also bring their friends along. This is intended for those who have not as yet secured their tickets for the performance. Tickets can be obtained through any of the Jewish comrades. So get ready.

If all of The People readers will be there the performance will be a success. It will be one of the changes in the death-knell to the capitalist system—a contribution that will aid to free the working class.

Harry Liroff.

New York, April 3.

HELPING MEN TO HELP THEMSELVES.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—I have been for some time putting this little letter off till I have finally found time to tell the readers of The People how the sky-pilots help unemployed men both young and old. Their motto is "help men to help themselves." We will see how much they help themselves.

First suppose you are out of a job; you wander down the Bowery till you come to the Bowery Mission, just south of Canal street. You have all heard of it; if you haven't, you ask some one to be your master, and he will say, "Keep going till you come to the Bowery Mission; they will fix you up."

Well, you go there and you meet Hadley Hall, who tells you that work is so scarce and says: "Stay to the prayer meeting to-night, and we will pray for you. Perhaps you will see dear sister,

Mrs. Sarah J. Bird, a very good old lady, who in 1897—November 15—swung open the door of the White Door Settlement for the dear babies of the Ghetto."

You surely think you are going to get—well, about \$1,000 from this dear sister. But she does not show up; neither does Harriet Irwin (the head worker). But one or two of the men directors come down. The first to speak is the financial secretary, John C. Earl, who recently succeeded Simon Trenwith who took a trip to England and died there.

After Johnny Earl, Dr. Louis Klopsch, editor of the Christian Herald, with an office at No. 92 Bible House, speaks. He tells you about the good work the mission has done. He says they start on Thanksgiving, at midnight. They give a bun and a cup of coffee (you have to stay up half the night to get this), and they keep it up till Easter. Last year 144,000—and in the last four years over half a million—men and boys have been interrupted at midnight.

At this point you are getting somewhat out of sorts in your stomach and wonder what time you eat. Well, after a while they give you a bun and tin cup of coffee, and put you in a stall with others—a big hall full of beds, say thirty or forty beds in the one room. You are so tired you sleep in spite of the noise of the elevated railroad outside, and concert halls nearby, and the foul smell from some of the clothing of the poor wage slaves, who have not had a change of clothing in some time.

Well, at 6 A. M. up you get and get half a loaf of bread and a cup of coffee. You go to Mr. Hall and he sends you to the Bible House, sixth floor, room 124; and there you see a little room full of poor wage slaves, who have been through the same mill as you have! This room is occupied by a concern, the Interborough Dispatch Company, whose president is Rev. Frank Mason North, who is also interested in the Church Extension Society. His office is 150 Fifth avenue.

In this little room, where you have been sent to help yourself, they set you to work addressing letters. You get eighty cents a thousand; it makes no difference whether you write two or three or even four lines, the price is eighty cents per thousand.

At dinner time you say to the man in charge: "Say boss, Mr. Hall said you would take care of me; I am hungry." "Oh, yes," says he, "here is fifteen cents come right back"; and, of course, you do.

At supper time you say the same and "about my bed?" "Well," says the boss again, "here are fifteen cents; I guess Mr. Hall will fix you up a bed if they are not all taken," or "here are fifteen cents more; go to a hotel!" (did you catch the word hotel and did you catch the fifteen cents?). Well, so far so good.

Next morning you shake yourself clear of your bed-mates that slept in your bed in the hotel and up to the job you go, saying: "Boss, I ain't had breakfast." "Well, here are ten cents; get some coffee and rolls and hurry back"; and so on through the day, the same as the day before. At night you count up and see how much you have made. You discover you have made \$1.00. That ain't much. You ask the fellow at the next table: "How much can you make after you get your hand in?" "Well," says he, "there was a fellow here the other day made \$1.50 but he was an expert."

"Does that fellow over there in the corner get much for filling?" (putting the letter in the envelope and sealing them). "Well, he gets twenty-five cents per 1,000; he can do about 1,000 in three hours. He could not write, so he got that." "Well, is that the regular scale for this work?" "No; Harper and Co. pay \$1.00 per 1,000 addressing and they pay more for three and four line work. There's places where they pay \$1.25 per 1,000."

"Now, if these places pay \$1.00 and \$1.25 and this place pays 80 cents where does the balance go or come?" "Well, maybe he takes a job cheaper; it could not be that they take any; for they don't want any; they only want to help us poor fellows." "Well, I think they help the business man and use us for dopes." "Well, what can you do; I ain't got any thing else to do. I was near stewed when I got it; so there you are." "Well, what do they work for, small places?" "No, they do mail circulars for John Wannh-maker, Marshal Fields, Strauss; and last election they addressed almost all the republican circulars. I guess the fellow that gives the smallest bid gets it." "And I guess when they say help men to help themselves it is all right, for they don't say which men, the big or little."

Harry Potters.

New York, March 17.

MAKING A TRAGEDY OF A JOKE, AND A JOKE OF A TRAGEDY.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—The "Rocky Mountain News" of March 24, contains an article in which is brought out what may be said to be the humorous side of the labor war of 1903-04. Payment is demanded for the cocoanuts eaten by the privates in the militia; valets for sergeants; booze for captains; transportation for majors; opera music for the "dough boys" on Bull Hill; and for Greer's highballs, which are rated at twenty-five cents each.

The article shows that an attempt is being made to saddle upon the state a bond issue, whereby the capitalists who advanced the necessary funds to the "war governor" may be reimbursed. Two years ago those holding certificates of indebtedness were willing to settle for \$800,000, so much so, in fact, as to offer \$2,000 apiece for the votes necessary to legalize their claims. The move failed in the 15th General Assembly; that success promises now is evidenced by the fact that the amount claimed today is \$900,000, half as much again as was the case in 1905.

As might be expected, the Democratic "outs" are yelling their heads off at the proposed steal. They, it appears, are willing to pay "what's right," holding that, no matter what the reason for the incurring of the legitimate part of the debt, it must be paid.

It's a remarkable fact that what is objected to—the graft in connection with Peabody's campaigns in Teller County and elsewhere—hurt the workers little or not at all. I may be mistaken, but I really cannot see wherein the strikers were injured to any great extent by the cocoanuts devoured by the privates of the National Guard; the valets hired by the sergeants; the booze swallowed by the captains; and the ride in a Pullman from Virginia to Denver by Major Hill. According to the "News," the state is to rise in rebellion rather than pay 25 cents apiece for the highballs whereby a Napoleon-like frame of mind was produced in Captain Greer. But it questions not at all the justice of paying for the rifle-balls with which the capitalists established an identity of interests with the miners. It makes a fight on Major Hill's little bill, while taking as a matter of course the expense incurred in deporting trainloads of men from the District. It becomes hilarious at the notion of the musical tastes of officers and men being cultivated at the expense of the state, but has not a word to say of the money spent in bull-penning innocent men, in raiding newspaper offices, in packing the District Court with armed men, and in a thousand and one breaches of what is supposed to be the law of the land.

Two years ago, when the bill was introduced looking to the payment of the war debt, the "News" was furious at the idea of the state being compelled to pay for the livery horses upon which the merry followers of Sherman Bell—who, by the way, is now a Democrat and in process of becoming a good fellow!—galloped over the hills, but it approved then, as it does now, of the claim presented in connection with the invasion of Fremont County and the battle of Dunsmuir in which John Carley was murdered while in the act of surrendering and his remains insulted and robbed.

The "News" thinking to blind the working people of the state, makes a tragedy of a joke and a joke of a tragedy. And the reason is not far to seek. The money spent by Peabody, whereby the big capitalists were placed in power for years to come, is to be repaid with interest to those who advanced it. Out of the pockets of the already heavily pressed-cockroach capitalists must come no inconsiderable portion of the taxes with which the war-bonds are to be met; and thus the humorous side of the Cripple Creek war becomes anything but funny to the element of which the "News" is the organ. If the average workman of Colorado is a fool, he will forget that the small business men of the state, with whose interests Senator Patterson's paper would identify those of our class, stood almost in a body against the strikers and for their enemies. He, for whom bond issues and taxation have, or should have, no terrors, in fighting the proposed graft, will be but raking the chestnuts out of the fire for a contemptible outfit which never yet has failed to come to the rescue of the exploiting class as a whole whenever it had a struggle with labor on its hands.

As to the other—the tragic side of the Cripple Creek affair—the working class paid for that out of its hide; and as it has not, as a whole and to the end of putting the system that victimizes it out of existence, determined to assert itself, what concerns it, the "News" seems to infer, may be safely ignored.

Fraternally,

H. J. B.

Florence, Colo., March 27.

Watch the label on your paper. It will tell you when your subscription expires. First number indicates the month, second, the day, third the year.

UNIONISM AND POLITICS

BY M. W. BRADLEY, REDLANDS, CAL.

I have been following the discussion going through The People "As to Politics," and have gained no small amount of knowledge thereby; and am pleased to see the columns of The People opened to the other side, "Unionism and Politics." This is one of the most important points in tactics in the labor movement to-day; and should be thoroughly discussed pro and con.

The two main errors in Sandgren's side lie, first, in confounding the political agitation of the Socialist Labor Party based upon Revolutionary Unionism, with the political log-rolling and compromising of the Socialist Party, based upon pure and simple unionism; second, which naturally follows the first, ignoring or overlooking the strategic and psychological side of the labor movement, which is the political arm.

The I. W. W., as it is to-day, organized upon Industrial, Class and Revolutionary lines is "abreast of the times" in psychology, economics, and industrial development. Fundamentally it is correct from A to Z. Every sentence in the preamble is scientific. The clause, "Uniting the working class on both the economic and political field, is the slogan of the hour."

Sandgren, in opening the discussion "As to Politics," said, in part: "The Socialist Party and the Socialist Labor Party are on the line of fire, and should break camp and unite their forces in the I. W. W." It is true; the S. P. and S. L. P. are on the line of fire; but not because they are political parties, but because they are divided. This was very plain from the day the I. W. W. was born. The pure and simple union faction in the S. P. were fighting it. The pure and simple political faction in the S. P. were ignoring it. Some of the Revolutionary faction in the S. P. were prejudiced and fighting the "De Leonites" that took part in it; and on the other hand, some of our S. L. P. comrades were trying to monopolize it; trying to make the world say the S. L. P. is the political reflex of it, some going so far as asking Edwards, editor of the "Industrial Worker," if the S. L. P. wasn't the political reflex of the I. W. W., in other words chasing the shadow instead of building up the material; our organizers holding credentials from both the S. L. P. and the I. W. W. It doesn't matter whether the S. L. P. or the I. W. W. has taken the initiative in this move, it was a bad one. Who will say the S. P. and S. L. P. are not on the line of fire to-day? The prime move of the hour is to get off the line of fire. It can and must be accomplished by a united political Party of all revolutionary Socialists, who see the necessity of political action.

When we take into consideration that heterogeneous mass of S. P. literature coming from a score of different sources, not under the direction or control of the party, but according to the whims of individuals; the intellectuals joining their party write books, pamphlets and

edit papers before they are six months in the party, misleading the rank and file with their ignorance and sentimental rot. Considering this we must toss a bouquet to our revolutionary comrades in the S. P. for being able to wade through this mass of confusion and come out clear. Comrades of the S. L. P., we have as much to learn from the revolutionary members of the S. P. as they have from us, and also the so-called "Kangaroos." We of the S. L. P. will have to change our agitational tactics. We will have to relax and cut out this policy of forcing our position. Simply put in a clear logical way, instead of trying to pour it into the proletarians as we would pour water into a jug.

Understand me, in making this suggestion I'm not casting any reflection on our pioneer comrades of the S. L. P. I know it is the product of their long continued fight against the graft and corruption of the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class and pure and simple unionism, on the one hand, and the political log-rolling and compromising of the S. P., on the other hand. I can see where the S. L. P. has become more revolutionary since I joined it some three years, and especially since the I. W. W. was organized. There is plenty of room for improvement yet, and always will be as long as it lives. Through the unity of the American Labor Union and the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance we got a union superior to either, the I. W. W. So it will be politically: through the unity of the S. L. P. and the revolutionists of the S. P. we will get a political party superior to either the S. L. P. or S. P.

I do not want to see our revolutionary comrades of the S. P. join the S. L. P.; I hold the unity of the two will make a stronger party. If all efforts of unity fail in their coming national convention (which they have done so far), it would be a wise policy for the revolutionists in the S. P. to withdraw and form, we might say, unity clubs all over the nation, and have a National unity conference with the S. L. P.; a unity conference composed of proletarians leaving their prejudices and pet theories at home; ever keeping before their mind's eye the history of the movement and the economic and psychological development and exigencies of the hour. The outcome of this will be a united-revolutionary political party with the deep philosopher and educator DeLeon working hand in glove with the powerful orator and agitator Debs. Comrades, this must be accomplished. There is no time to quibble. There is no time to stop to divide power. Let the impartial minds of the future generation of the Cooperative Commonwealth do that. Comrades, we must respond to the call of the I. W. W.: "Uniting the working class on both the economic and political field, and march on to the Workers' Republic."

M. W. Bradley,

Member at large S. L. P.

WOMAN'S FIELD

THE SMALL ECONOMICS OF HOME—THE WAY CAPITALISM COMPELS WOMAN TO PROVIDE THEM.

(By Rhoda M. Brooks, Buffalo, N. Y.)

Who is it that practices the small economics in the home? It would be interesting to have regular statistics upon this point. As far as observation for several years counts, the question may be emphatically answered: It is the woman. She it is who counts the pennies in the home expenses. She it is who makes over, patches, darts, contrives to make much out of little; who keeps herself and children "respectable" on a pittance; who feeds the family on the smallest possible sum.

The boys of the family are "brought up" to think primarily of their own comfort. They are victims of the heredity of woman. She unconsciously yields to the man-child that which she would recognize as injurious to the girls of the household.

A girl is trained from the cradle to make "a good wife and mother." She is taught the things that mean thrift and prudence in the home. But whoever heard of a boy being told he must prepare himself to be a good husband and father? No, it is supposed that the qualities for a good husband must be developed by the wife, and if they are, she, as a rule, is the one blamed. This is a part of the burden the past has put upon woman, until her very nature has taken upon itself the tendencies to increase these characteristics.

Even the best of mothers seem to be purblind to the fact that in indulging their sons they are doing a wrong to their sex.

It has been a study of the writer to note methods wives use to make life as easy as possible for husbands. The

woman argues either consciously or unconsciously, that as the man goes forth to daily toil, he should have the best and the lion's share of whatever is brought into the household. She who stays at home, practicing the small economics, bearing and rearing children; she who cannot say her work ends in eight, ten or twelve hours each day; she it is who takes the daily burdens, the work, trials and worry inside the home. Of course, there are exceptions, but observation seems to warrant the belief that among wage-workers the woman does all the more than is herein stated; for the majority add to their burdens by doing some kind of work to help eke out the family income. Fine laundry, a little sewing, baking bread, letting out a room, or some other kind of work is often done to help along. Truly, a willing slave of a slave is woman.

Here is the result of one case recently observed, which impressed the writer greatly, as the woman is the mother of ten children. The husband earns the magnificent (\$), sum of \$13 per week. Two of the oldest boys, 15 and 13 years of age, work in factories. Probably they earn six dollars together. Out of such an income this family is paying for a home, dressing and feeding the children; making a concession to the Catholic Church by sending four of them to a parochial school, which means a tuition fee for their education; besides, paying an almost constant doctor bill for the four months old baby. This is not citing the incidental expenses which arise in every home and which must be met.

Now, what does the wife and mother do? She cares for the children, washes,

LETTER-BOX

OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.

J. H. A., LOUISVILLE, KY.—Correction came too late for use.

LOCAL STONECUTTERS—Information is wanted by an out-of-town stone-cutter regarding the causes that led up to the deposition of Hammer, President of the New York Stonecutters' Association. Address the Daily and Weekly People, 2-6 New Reade street, New York City.

P. S., NEW YORK CITY—The discussion, "As to Politics" is closed. Only attempted answers to the questions propounded by The People are in order. The discussion, "Unionism and Politics" is a pro-political symposium, open only to Party members. To publish your contribution under the heading "Unionism and Politics" would mean to re-open the first discussion, and give space to a document that is at variance, not only with the principle underlying the second discussion, but with that underlying membership in the Socialist Labor Party as well. You are triply out of order.

T. T. O., SANDSTONE, MINN.—The address of "Arbetaren" is 2-6 New Reade street, New York City. Your letter has been turned over to it.

O. J., CHICAGO, ILL.—The local paper, concerning which you inquire, is on our exchange list.

C. C. C., NEW YORK CITY—Each national Socialist party may send as many delegates to the International Congress as it pleases. The votes are cast by countries, and not by the number of delegates; thus, the representatives from the United States have two votes, of which the Socialist party casts one; and the Socialist Labor Party one.

E. B., BROOKLYN, N. Y.—Machinery helps to enhance the fecundity of nature, while, at the same time, lessening the amount of necessary labor. Machinery permits the farmer to cover more ground and to cover it more thoroughly than with his own unaided labor. It makes liberal watering easy; helps to make soil of any desired composition, and makes it possible to keep that soil and the surrounding atmosphere superior to those of the open air. According to an eminent authority, the steam engine and heated pipes have increased the productivity of a given era of land more than a hundred times. The possibilities of agriculture are held to be practically unlimited under modern science. Socialists, basing their conclusions on results already achieved, believe in increasing, instead of diminishing returns.

K. R., NEW YORK CITY—Send in your name and address and your ques-

tions will be answered. See notice at head of Letter-Box.

HARLEMITE, N. Y. CITY—So that "mountain of gold" expose, re-published in the Daily People, "was contributed by a comrade very close to the Volkszeitung Corporation"; and you think the Daily People "would smile to know its source"? The Daily People is smiling, all right. The "mountain of gold" expose was re-published to illustrate the beauties of the private ownership of the Socialist press. Your letter, intimating that it is a case of swine rending swine, and showing the Volkszeitung at its old tricks, gives the illustration emphasis. Under the circumstances, you don't expect the Daily People to cry, do you? The Daily People is smiling, all right.

J. R. M., YOUNGSTOWN, O.—Unsigned or anonymous communications are denied publication. Your communication was unsigned. Avoid repetition in order to insure publication in the future.

P. M., BUTTE, MONT.—Request complied with.

H. A. W., BOSTON, MASS.—Both arguments are entirely misleading. The mere increase of farm owners and manufacturing plants does not prove an increase in the middle class. Other factors, like the increase in the number of farms and duplication in ownership, must be considered. The census figures from 1880 to 1900, inclusive, show that, in proportion to the increase in the number of farms, the number of farm owners have decreased ten per cent. in the decades enumerated. How often these owners are one and the same persons organized in stock companies, is not known; but considering the growth of corporate interests in agriculture it cannot fail to be considerable. The investigation of the Standard Oil Company disclosed the fact that the oil trust created scores of "independent plants" as a competitive blind. The duplication of ownership also appears in the case of the tobacco, shoe, department store, and other trusts, with their chain of factories and stores, all of which are demonstrating the decline of the middle class in a manner that gives it economic convulsions. The middle class is disappearing as a factor in modern life.

H. B., MILWAUKEE, WIS.; H. F. H., LYNDEN, WASH.; R. E. C., STAMFORD, CONN.; G. S., NEW YORK CITY; C. L., BROOKLYN, N. Y.; F. C., BROOKLYN, N. Y.; S. L. B., BUFFALO, N. Y.; V. H. K., NEW YORK CITY; F. F., HARTFORD, CONN.; C. O. H., SAN PEDRO, CAL.; E. B., COLUMBUS, O.—Matter received.

scrubs, drudges, nurses the family in sickness; has a kit of shoemaking tools with which she soles and patches the shoes; sews, or "changes work" with another woman, doing laundry work, to have the children's clothes made a little nicer than she has opportunity and taste to do; spends her life in her kitchen in a round of anxiety lest her brood suffers in some way. She does not know rest by day nor by night.

"My man will not eat anything but porterhouse steak and the boys are the same," she told me the other day, "but I can eat anything." The husband and boys must have beer, for they are Germans, tobacco and whatever habit has made necessary to them. The woman is a willing slave, partly through her maternal instincts and partly from the heritage of burdens her economic conditions have placed upon her. Her children make up to her for much she must forego, and she loves to be a martyr for them. She takes the leavings, or in other words, eats what otherwise would have to be thrown away.

This may seem an extreme picture, but observation will show that to some extent the same thing prevails in the majority of households of the working-man.

Well what of it? Is SOCIALISM going to make any difference in such conditions?

Certainly. It is, first of all, going to make of woman an independent being. She will learn for the first time what economic independence means, and will develop along the lines of self-justice until she understands that this means something better to give her children than porterhouse steak. She will learn that to be "unselfish" means breeding into the life of her son the very reverse and makes him incapable of being a good father and husband to transmit to his sons and daughters the highest attributes. She will eventually learn that she has some other mission than to feed

man well; she has to form his mentality and moral strength, and give him the heritage of higher aspirations than a full stomach and creature comfort. And in doing this, she will bring more joy into her own life and make of man a better husband and father. Thus, the complete circle will hold real life for woman and man, the co-partners and complements of each other, and equality will produce what one-sided, blind, undisciplined love can never accomplish.

That will take a long time, do you say? Verily, yes. No growth comes without time for the seed to sprout and bring forth fruit. But in the effort to fertilize the soil and help forward the growth, there is large joy and abundant work for the women who are SOCIALISTS and who believe, any KNOW that only through better economic conditions can the slavery of the past be undone for her sex and its results cease to be little man.

FOR ONE DOLLAR

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—:— and —:—

Communism In Central Europe
By KARL KAUSKY
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2-6 New Reade Street, New York

OFFICIAL

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Frank Bohn, National Secretary, 2-6
New Reade street, New York.
S. L. P. OF CANADA.
National Secretary, Theo. Maxwell, 798
Bainbridge street, London Ont.
NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO.
2-6 New Reade street, New York City
(The Party's literary agency.)
Notice—For technical reasons no party
announcements can go in that are not
in this office by Tuesday, 10 p. m.

N. Y. S. E. C.

Meeting of S. E. C. held at 2-6 New
Reade street, on Friday, March 22 with
A. Morn-in chair. Entire committee
present.

Minutes of previous meeting adopted
as read. Application for charter by Sec-
tion Queens, referred to N. E. C. Sub-
Committee. Motion that minutes of N.
E. C. be read, carried. Motion that
minutes of the N. E. C. be published and
sent to Sections in the State, carried.

Correspondence Bureau reports hav-
ing been in communication with Sec-
tions Troy, Schenectady, Utica and
Syracuse, arranging dates for Comrade
Reinstein's lecture; also in reference to
selling Weekly People at factory gates.
Motion that Correspondence Bureau
again notify all Sections and urge the
pushing of Weekly People.

Motion to adjourn carried.

Secretary.

COOPER UNION MAY DAY MEETING.
The County Executive Committee of
Section New York County, S. L. P., at
its regular meeting Friday night, took
in hand the arrangements for the monster
May meeting to be held on Wednesday
evening, May 1, at Cooper Union for
the purpose of celebrating International
Labor Day.

The organizer reported having sent in-
vitations to the following speakers to
address the meeting: Frank Bohn, Na-
tional Secretary, James Connolly, John
T. Vaughan and James T. Hunter. They
have all replied, accepting the invitation.
He is also endeavoring to secure some
out-of-town speaker for this meeting.

The committee decided to print 10,000
hand-bills announcing the meeting and
the organizer was instructed to call upon
the sub-divisions of the Section, through
the Party Press, to distribute the same
as soon as they are ready.

**ALBANY, TROY, SCHENECTADY,
ATTENTION!**

Conference Committee and all Com-
rades will meet in Turn Hall, Albany
street, Schenectady, SUNDAY next
5 p. m.

Max Stern will address the meeting.
Bring along your friends.

RESOLUTIONS ON

The Death of J. V. Kendall, State Se-
cretary S. L. P. and member of
Section San Antonio.

Whereas, We of Section San Antonio
S. L. P. are again called to record the
death of a dear comrade, stricken in
his early manhood, a victim of the cap-
italist system, and

Whereas, In the death of Comrade
J. V. Kendall this Section and the S. L.
P. at large has lost one of its most able
counselors, a loyal, tireless and fearless
exponent of our principles and tactics,
therefore be it

Resolved, That while we deeply feel
our loss, coming as it does, so close on
that of our lamented Comrade Frank
Leitner, and fully realizing that it is
impossible to fill the vacancy caused by
the death of Comrade Kendall, we pledge
ourselves to renewed activity in the
cause of working-class freedom, that
our oppressors shall realize the day is not
distant when their rule shall cease, and
the CO-OPERATIVE COMMON-
WEALTH be ushered in, And be it
further

Resolved, That we extend to the be-
traved family of our deceased comrade
our heartfelt sympathy,

That a copy of these resolutions be sent
to them, to the Daily and Weekly People,
The Socialist Arbeiter Zeitung and
spread upon the records of this Section.

Section San Antonio, S. L. P.,
by the Committee.

San Antonio, Texas, March 16, 1937.

GLEANINGS 'LONG THE ROAD.

(Continued from page one.)
of labor organization which it assails;
plainly expose by their admiration the
"virtues" of the "conservative" labor
leaders, and as plainly recommended by
their condemnation the "vices" of the
"fanatics"—the Mine Owners have
learned and borrowed the epithet "fan-
atic" from Sherman. All this printed
matter is surrounded conspicuously by
the "tamale" label, the name given
in and around Goldfield to the label
of the I. T. U., the imprint of which
was equally conspicuous on the printed
court injunctions recently issued in
Chicago against the members of the

I. T. U. themselves on strike against
the Typothetae. [Tamale is a Mexi-
can sort of pie resembling in shape
the I. T. U. label.]

On the 24th instant Vincent St. John
sent to The People a sketch of the situa-
tion and the history that preceded.
From that history it will be learned that
the Goldfield Mine Owners find them-
selves caught on all sides by the swelling
tide of the "fanatics." What ever scheme
the capitalists devise turns against them.
They tried the political gerrymander on the
industrial field. Imagining from the
language and conduct of the O'Neills,
Mahoneys and Kirwans that the miners
were "unfanatical" and readily coaxed,
and knowing that the miners were more
numerous than the "town workers" [non-
miners at work in the town and mainly
I. W. W.] they manoeuvred to have the
two sets constituted in one Union.
Thereupon that happened which was the
exact opposite of the expected. The sup-
posedly "unfanatical" miners were ex-
pected to outvote the "fanatical" town
workers. What happened was a develop-
ment and demonstration of "fanaticism"
that set the "Citizens" half on end. De-
spite the agents and spies [utterly "un-
fanatical"] kept by the capitalists in the
consolidated Union, the "fanatics" had
the overwhelming majority. The econ-
omic gerrymander having failed, the cap-
italists now are bent upon segregation
and the simultaneous "watering" of the
"unfanatical" membership with expectedly
"un-fanatical" importations from the A.
F. of L. They paid \$2,700 for a special
car to convey a load of A. F. of L. crooks
and waiters from Denver to scab upon
the I. W. W. The choral of working
class interests being touched by the "fan-
atics," and the touch being emphasized
by the demerited articles of the Mine
Owners' press, the anticipated scab—all
but four—joined the "fanatics." The
Mine Owners' rage knows no bounds, but
it vents itself in barking. It knows what
it is up against in Goldfield, and keeps
its horns well in. Only the special
agents of the Mine Owners now and then,
being more witless than even their mas-
ters, indulge occasionally in a little
clumsy "un-fanatical" outbreak. Such
was the nature of the outbreak by the
"labor" deputy-sheriff Casey this morning
in Rhyolite. He and a pal of his, Kelly,
both enthusiastic Mahoney-Shermanites,
had intruded their level best to prevent
my Rhyolite meeting last evening, and in
that way keep the rank and file from
hearing the gospel of Industrialism. They
failed signally. The "fanatics" hired the
largest hall in the place—the Unique
Hall. Though the hour was late, lamps,
candles, benches were quickly procured,
criers were sent through the camp and
town announcing the meeting, and the
place filled. Active in this work was
Wm. Jurgens of the Goldfield Miners'
Union, whom the Goldfield men thought
wise to delegate as my escort against
possible mad dogs. Jurgens informed
the meeting of the language Kelly had
used that same afternoon towards St.
John. That language had all the earmarks
of the language used by the Mine
Owners' Association press. The meeting
hooted Kelly. After the meeting ad-
journing Kelly, together with another,
tried to assault Jurgens. Jurgens pulled
out his gun, and ordered Kelly to move.
This morning, just as I was about to
enter my rig to Beatty together with
Jurgens, Casey arrested Jurgens on the
charge of "carrying concealed weapons." I
accompanied Jurgens into the Court
House, where he was let out on bail fur-
nished by Comrade Jensen. In the mean-
time, as I was telling Jurgens that a
lawyer would be procured for him, Casey
jumped at me, seized me by my overcoat
and yelled something. The man looked
demoniacal. I ordered him to let go my
overcoat, or I would swear out a warrant
against him for false imprisonment. He
thought discretion the better part of
valor—and "discreted." I bade my
stalwart escort Jurgens good bye at
Beatty, and thus the roughest portion
of this tour, so far, closed with the com-
plete rout of the "unfanatics" with the
"fanatics" on top—morally, intellectu-
ally and physically. What the concrete
and immediate issue will be in Goldfield
I cannot tell. Whatever that issue be
it will mark a step forward.

I wish to mail this letter at Daggett
and have it off my mind. But there is
one more incident I should record. It
is one of numerous ones of the kind.
This one occurred about half an hour
ago. Shortly before my train entered
Las Vegas, a man entered the sleeper
where I am writing, called me by name,
shook my hand warmly and introduced
himself as C. E. Payne of North Dakota,
now working along the road of the Las
Vegas line. He knew I was due on this
train and hunted me up. We had a de-
lightful chat of about half an hour.
Payne is an S. P. man. The "un-fan-
atic" in his party call him a "De Leon-
ite." He tells me "the woods are full
of them."

The campaign of calumny against the
S. L. P. by the pure and simple political
Socialists is rolling heavily upon the
heads of the "un-fanatics."

DANIEL DE LEON.

ON WITH THE PROPAGANDA!

GIGANTIC RESULTS CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED BY EACH DOING A
LITTLE—CIVILIZATION DEPENDS UPON OUR WORK TO-DAY.

For the week ending April 6th, we re-
ceived 128 subs to the Weekly People
and thirty-three mail subs to the Daily
People, a total of 161 for the week.

Now then, comrades, you must realize
that these figures give a pretty fair in-
dex of the propaganda that is being done
by the Party, and we are sure that
none of us considers the result at all
satisfactory. It is high time for each
S. L. P. man, and woman, too, to resolve
and see to it that this feature of the
Party's work is bettered and that imme-
diately.

A Pittsburg, Pa., comrade holds that
each Party member can get one new read-
er per month. We think so, too. In
fact, we don't know of a comrade who
would say that he couldn't.

Do you realize what it would mean
if each one of us got one sub a month?
It would mean about 600 subs a week!
It would mean a powerful propaganda,
it would mean education and organization,
it would mean a powerful financial sup-
port to the Party organs. And all this
can be brought about by each S. L. P.
man getting one sub a month! The pos-
sibilities that are in that one sub a
month are so great that the very thought
of it should be an inspiration to each
one to begin the work at once.

The roll of honor this week, those send-
ing five or more, is: P. F. McCarthy,
Portland, Ore., 10; L. C. Haller, Los
Angeles, Cal., 6; Fred Brown, Cleve-
land, O., 6; M. Rutherford, Holyoke, Mass.,
6; Press Committee, Cincinnati, O., 5;
A. Wang, Superior, Wis., 5; John Burk-
hardt, Indianapolis, Ind., 5. Of the total
of 161 received, these send forty-three,
leaving 118, as a week's work for the
rest of the Party. This must be changed.
Take up the call for 500 subs a week.
We can get them. It is but one sub a
month from each S. L. P. man.

The downfall of capitalism is certain.
But in its downfall capitalism will pull
society down with it, unless the workers

are prepared to take over the means of
production for themselves. It is our
mission to prepare the workers to save
Civilization from such a catastrophe. On
with the propaganda.

The important Labor News orders
the past week were Butte, Mont.,
\$19.64; Cleveland, O., \$9.00; Portland,
Ore., \$7.00; San Francisco, Cal., \$8.38;
Utica, N. Y., \$2.50; Tacoma, Wash.,
\$2.00; Collingwood, Can., \$1.32; Hib-
bing, Minn., \$7.00; to a college, \$5.33;
to an S. P. publishing house, \$3.24;
New Castle, Pa., \$1.00.

The new edition of "Woman Under
Socialism," we are informed by the
bookbinder will be ready for delivery
on April 15th. We expect that every
one interested in the movement will
hurry in an order for this book. A
new 16,000 edition of De Leon's Address
on the Preamble of the I. W. W., is on
the press. This pamphlet is fast be-
coming the text book of the industrial
millions. Twenty thousand copies have
already been sold, and the demand is
increasing.

The address of Henry Laurens Call,
on "The Concentration of Wealth,"
which excited so much public com-
ment when delivered before the Ameri-
can Association for the Advancement
of Science last December, is out in
pamphlet form. It is a valuable con-
tribution to the literature on the great
economic issue of the day. No student
of the Labor Movement should miss
reading Call's work. We can supply
the pamphlet to sections at eight cents
each, in lots of ten or more copies.
Single copies ten cents.

The Women's Socialist Club of Cin-
cinnati, O., have contributed \$25.00 to
the Operating Fund which has been
rather neglected of late but \$23.43 hav-
ing been contributed since last Decem-
ber, until this contribution from Cin-
cinnati. Give us the means to do the
work and we shall turn out new pro-
ductions to your heart's content.

LATEST DEVELOPMENTS IN GOLDFIELD

BY VINCENT ST. JOHN.

Goldfield, Nev., April 2.—The follow-
ing proclamation and editorial are the
latest emanations from the Citizens'
Alliance combination here:—
(Proclamation.)

To the Public:

All statements, reports or asser-
tions that the Business Men's and Mine
Owners' Association of Goldfield has
been formed to combat or oppose or-
ganized labor, or to overthrow the
Western Federation of Miners are un-
qualifiedly false. Its purpose, as de-
clared at the outset, is to rid the com-
munity of the long continued and in-
tolerable agitations of the anarchists
and un-American organization calling
itself the Industrial Workers of the
World, that we may permanently settle
and adjust the labor and business con-
ditions of this great mining camp, with
due regard to the interests and welfare
of all.

To this end we have invited and will
welcome the co-operation of all genuine
labor unions toward the establishment
of industrial peace which is indispen-
sible to continued law, order and pros-
perity. We reiterate our original an-
nouncement "That no declaration of
war has been issued or felt by this
association against the Western Federa-
tion of Miners. We believe that,
among the miners of Goldfield, are
some of the best in the world, and we
desire to retain them and remain on
friendly terms with them."

"The purpose of our resolution was
and is that the miners of Goldfield
should be independent and we will be
perfectly satisfied if they remain and
keep control of their own Local Union
No. 226 and sever their connection in
the Goldfield mining district with the
Industrial Workers of the World."

"There is no intention of disturbing
present conditions as to hours and
wages, and when the object above
stated has been accomplished the asso-
ciation believes that an agreement can
be signed between the mine owners and
the miners guaranteeing the present
hours and wages for any number of
years that may be mutually agreed
upon."

W. A. Stanton,
Jas. R. Davis,
C. H. Keidel,
J. W. Finch,
W. C. Stone,
Executive Committee.

[Editorial, Goldfield Daily Tribune,
April 2.]

ATTITUDE OF THE MINERS.

The miners will be called upon to-
night to express themselves on the final

separation from the Industrial Workers
of the World. What the action may be
is problematical but, according to re-
ports, the miners are determined to
stand by the resolutions to the effect
that they cannot advance any further
towards a settlement without a con-
ference with the mine owners. They
say they are not on strike and there-
fore are not called upon by any moral
obligation to appoint a committee to
meet the employers. Were they on
strike then, they say, the appointment
of a committee would be necessary and
imperative. They are determined not
to recede from their present attitude
which is one of passive resistance but
it is understood that if a committee
was appointed to take all the matters
into consideration, the mine owners and
the miners would come to a speedy
recognition of rights. The miners re-
cognize the fact that they have been
guilty of a great indiscretion in affil-
iating with other crafts. They have
been brought to a realization of the
fact that they have impaired the use-
fulness of their own organization by
shouldering the responsibilities of other
crafts. This is in line with the sug-
gestion of Secretary Haywood at the
last annual meeting where he declared
for separate organizations for the dif-
ferent trades where there was a suffi-
cient number to warrant instituting a
separate local. This subject is treated
more fully in a letter from Attorney
W. D. Hatton which is printed else-
where in this paper so there is no need
for dwelling at length on the recom-
mendations. The local miners including
the conservatives desire a separate or-
ganization and they stand ready to
pledge themselves to reorganize after
they are allowed to resume work. They
have been brought to a realization of
the folly of having their own affairs
directed by men who are not familiar
with the work and by force of the
same argument they do not desire to
be embroiled in the disputes of afil-
iated trades until it comes to an ulti-
matum.

It has been determined to maintain
the standard fixed by the Independent
miners of Butte who have a charter
from the Western Federation of Miners.
This body of men maintained juris-
diction over all men employed around
mines, smelters and reduction plants.
The jurisdiction covers the employment
of timbermen who, in Butte and Ana-
conda, are members of the Western
Federation and are not classed as car-
penters as is the case in the Gold-
field district. This then becomes the

issue of the contention. When is a
carpenter not a carpenter or at what
stage of the work does he become a
timber? In Montana and Colorado the
timbermen are always classed as min-
ers as their work requires a greater
knowledge of mining and rock forma-
tion than it does of handling tools and
shaping timber. In other words in
the language of the carpenter he is a
mere axe and saw man whose work
does not require any more intimate
knowledge of the trade. A definition
of the duties of carpenter and timber-
man is all that stands in the way of
a settlement and The Tribune thinks
that when this circumstance is brought
to the notice of the operators they may
see the situation in a new light.

The Alliance between the capitalist
class and the American Federation of
Labor was further demonstrated yester-
day when the organizer (1) of the
A. F. of L. M. Grant Hamilton, and
the Mine Owners combination brought
pressure to bear from Washington to
make the local postmaster fire a clerk
in the P. O. who was a member of the
W. F. of M. and I. W. W., Mrs. Alley.
Fellow worker Alley was summoned
to the office of the post master and
given the option of renouncing the I.
W. W. and joining the A. F. of L. or
being discharged. Fellow worker Alley
refused to comply, and was discharged.
Who will say that Gompers seah-herd-
ing organizers are in league with the
capitalist class?

The Mine Owners and their allies
are, as in the past, endeavoring to cre-
ate a reign of terror. Armed men on
horse back ride throughout the district
day and night, endeavoring to provoke
the workers by their over-bearing law-
less conduct into committing some
overt act, but the discipline of the or-
ganization is perfect and will be pre-
served. One member of the W. F. of
M. was held up and relieved of his
watch and money by some of the Mine
Owners (11:30 p. m. no one has even
been arrested on suspicion(?)). Noth-
ing but a pretence of looking for the
thug.

The same night a member of the or-
ganization was arrested by the mine
owners cossacks without any warrant,
charged with making threats, the
threats consisting of asking a man not
to go to work.

The membership have got their eyes
fully opened and each move of the en-
emy only serves to move clearly show
them up.

Last Friday and Saturday, open air
meetings were called by a broker to
show his devotion to the interests of
the workers, but both meetings turned
out a frost for the Parasite, as the
class conscious workers soon answered
his arguments and forced him to admit
that he knew not whereof he spoke.

The Mine Owners have opened up a
soup kitchen for broken brokers in the
aristocratic club and it is but a ques-
tion of time until the enemy is ours.
VINCENT ST. JOHN.

MINERS STAND PAT.

[By Telegraph to The People.]
Goldfield, Nev., April 3.—The Miners
have voted to stand pat with the
I. W. W.

PERSONAL RECORD.

(Continued from page one.)

them to the company doctor, who then
examined me in a rigid and brusque
manner. It was an insulting ordeal all
the way through.

After the examination I had to return
all the documents to the general fore-
man and as I patiently waited for a
reply, he asked me what I was waiting
for? I asked him, naturally though a
little sarcastic, if I did not have to
undergo any more examinations, or if I
didn't have to rehearse it over a few
times so, if I ever left the company at
this point, and wanted a job at some
other point on the road, I would be
trained to take the next treatment with
more ease and patience.

He tried to look severe but a grin
overcame his face and he kindly in-
formed me that I could report for work
in the morning.

The machinists, boiler-makers black-
smiths, carmen have taken the per-
sonal and physical examination up
with the company and a committee
went to Frisco to adjust matters.

This is some of the liberty that the
free and sovereign workmen of the
United States enjoy. Liberty under
such conditions is more humiliating
and degrading than chattel slavery
ever was. Workmen of the world
unite in a solid and compact organiza-
tion such as the Industrial Workers of
the World, carry on the work of edu-
cation among your fellow workers and
help build up the I. W. W. Leave the
fakirs and gruffers to the Civic Fed-
eration. Up with solidarity and unity.
Be up and doing by organizing your
class in the Industrial Workers of the
World and the Socialist Labor Party.
August Gillhaus.

DE LEON IN GOLDFIELD

MEETING HUGE SUCCESS; HALL
FILLED TO OVERFLOWING.

Influence of Dope Sheets Destroyed—
Even Reactionists Won Over—Local
Ranks of Labor Solidified by Able
Presentation of I. W. W. Principles
—Good Work All Around—Jurgens
Acquitted.

(Special Correspondence.)

Goldfield, Nev., March 30.—Daniel De
Leon, editor of the Daily People, has
come and gone and the working class in
general has greatly benefited by his lec-
tures. They have removed the cobwebs
from the brains of the miners in par-
ticular, and the working class in general;
cobwebs which have been placed there
by the "misleaders" of labor and their
publications, such as the "Miners' Maga-
zine," "Appeal to Reason," and kindred
chloroform sheets.

Due to the wash-out, De Leon missed
the first date, as advertised in Goldfield.
He arrived in Goldfield on the morning
of the 22nd, but was killed for that date
in Tonopah. After looking over the
ground he left for Tonopah in the eve-
ning, and I escorted him to that place,
for comrades and friends thought it to
be necessary on account of prevailing
conditions. Tonopah, as most of you
know, has been fighting to establish a
good I. W. W. local for over a year, and
De Leon was welcomed by all in good
style. The big hall of Tonopah Miners'
Union was filled and all listened eagerly
to the mastery way the I. W. W. prin-
ciples were expounded to them and very
much interest was shown at the end of
the meeting. Several questions were
asked and satisfactorily answered.

The next morning before train time
we overheard some, even among the most
reactionary, and one Democratic polit-
ician in particular, paying their respects
to the way in which the subject was
handled. Lectures like this, from time
to time, are one of the most effective
means of solidifying the working class.

The Goldfield meetings were also a
huge success. The workers of this com-
munity turned out by hundreds and the
Miners' Hall, capable of holding ap-
proximately 600 people, was jammed to
the doors. Scores of men, anxious to
hear the clear exposition of industrial
unionism they knew would be forth-
coming, unable to obtain standing room
in the hall, were obliged to turn away
disappointed.

The two meetings held here were most
timely, as there has been much discord
and trouble in the rank and file of the
miners on the part of the less clear and
weakened ones, and the mental ham-
mering administered to them by De Leon
has done much to clear the atmosphere
and to bring forward into a clearer and
stronger light the principles that are
destined to lead the working class to
ultimate victory—those of industrial
unionism.

The literature sales were enormous and
on the whole the meetings will be long
remembered by those present as among
the most successful ever held in Gold-
field.

On Monday morning we left for Rhyo-
lite where De Leon was to spend that
night. On the train a certain individual
kept close to us, but at first I thought
nothing of it and I don't believe De Leon
does yet. At one station several work-
ingmen got on our train and with them
Comrade Clark from Arizona. We had
a little discussion on the labor move-
ment but nothing of my note. The in-
dividual mentioned then edged into the
discussion as an advocate of arbitration,
but I took no further notice of him at
the time. After changing he manoeuvred
to get into the same stage as we did,
but left it at Beatty. At Beatty we
were met by the secretary of the Miners'
Union there. Fellow Worker Kunat
wanted De Leon to address the workmen
of Beatty and he consented to do so
a short while before train time, and we
then proceeded to Rhyolite where some
comrades were awaiting us. I proceeded
to Miners' Union Hall and there got
insulted by the secretary, McHugh, and
President Kelly, of that local, and told
to get out. These two worthies did and
had done everything in their power to
quer the meeting, but we got a good
crowd of over 200 men in spite of them.

At the close of the meeting I told the
audience how I had been insulted by the
officials of my sister organization, and
that I did not believe the membership
would sanction the acts of their officers.
On the way to the hotel I lagged behind
a little and soon observed that I was
followed by two men who stopped me
and demanded an explanation of what
I had said. I answered that I had
said what I meant and would retract
nothing. The two then took on a very
threatening position, but I warned them
that it would be better for them to de-

sist, which they did, and finally walked
away.

The next morning on leaving Rhyolite
I was stopped and searched by deputy
sheriff Casey by name, who is a mem-
ber of the Miners' Union. He took me
into custody and brought me before
Judge Kelleher, also a member of the
Miners' Union.

Sitting in the court was the individual
who had taken so much interest in me
on the train, and I immediately smelled
a mouse. I found out that the inten-
tion was to convict me if possible.

De Leon spoke to me while under ar-
rest, and was himself threatened with
arrest. He left for Beatty, however,
and spoke there, as he had promised.

I was released finally on \$200 bail, and
in the meantime members of the Beatty
Miners' Union were not asleep and did
everything for me they could.

At the hearing I pleaded not guilty,
and asked for a change of venue, which
was granted. I demanded a jury trial,
which was set for the 27th. The trial
came off with six business men on the
jury.

The prosecuting attorney, who was
said to be a Socialist (one of that pecu-
liar brand now so well known through-
out the country), was moving Heaven
and earth for my conviction. One of his
all convincing arguments was that I was
an S. L. P. man. We can easily judge
what he was.

My friend from the train was there
cited to appear as a witness and was
frequently addressed as officer, but on
seeing Comrade Clark, decided not to do
so.

I had an able defense of workingmen,
Fellow Worker Kraft, vice-president of
the I. W. W. of Rhyolite, and Kunat, of
Beatty I. W. W. I was finally acquitted
at the hands of the jury of business men,
of the charge instigated by my union
brothers.

This incident is valuable as it will
serve to open the eyes of the misled
workingmen who are now blinded by the
Kellys, the McHugh, the corrupt polit-
icians of the stripe of Casey, and the
shyster lawyer Socialist elected on dif-
ferent tickets but all of the same intent
and purpose, that of raising themselves
on the shoulders of the wage slave.

It will show them who are their
friends and who their enemies, and that
they must learn to discipline their of-
ficers by controlling their own organiza-
tion and elections, and above all that
they have only themselves to depend
upon.

Wm. Jurgens.

PORTLAND STRIKERS

Have Plenty of Funds—Notification
from Organizer.

Portland, Oregon, April 6.—Have
plenty of strike funds; notify, your
subscribers through The People.

Fred W. Heslewood.

DUTY'S CALL.

The Militant Must Inform the Workers
and Guide Aright the Present Unrest.

From many quarters word comes to
us that there is a general unrest in the
world of Labor, and the long since dis-
credited A. F. of L., the "union" agency
of capitalism, strives in vain to lull
the workers back to slumber. The
workers refuse to be mesmerized. They
are turning to the I. W. W., recognizing
in it an organization that stands for
but one thing—the interests of the
Working Class. The A. F. of L. has
been forced to show itself in its true
colors of Civic Federationized craft
unionism in the interest of the Capital-
ist Class. The "fight between the I.
W. W., working class organization, and
the A. F. of L., or capitalist union,
is on and there can be no let up until
capitalist unionism bites the dust.

At